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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1543

EAST

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HUNGARIAN ATTITUDES TOWARD TREATMENT OF MINORITIES IN ROMANIA EXAMINED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 29 Apr 78 p 4

[Report from Budapest: "Budapest and the Hungarian Minority in Transylvania---Official Backing for Private Complaints"]

[Text] To Hungary, its minority case in Romania is in no way a matter disposed of. The polemics that started cautiously early this year about the rights of what is called the "largest minority in Europe" in Budapest are not the private concerns of journalists and authors expressing themselves on the subject. It is all part of the official Hungarian policy in this matter. Government circles are pointing out they are taking account of the sentiment of the Hungarian population in criticizing the Romanian minority policy. How tough the talk is between Hungarian and Romanian top politicians behind closed doors, nobody knows. Hungarian reactions, however, indicate, the situation has not been relaxed by the February visit of Stefan Andrei, the personal emissary of President Ceausescu, who has meanwhile become the Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Doubts About the Statistics

The nationality congresses were held in Romania shortly after that meeting. There an emphatic attempt was made to refute the Hungarian reproaches by statistics indicating an absolute legal equality among the minorities. Budapest has doubt about the value and persuasiveness of these statistics. While the figure of Magyars living in Romania is given as 1.6 million, Budapest is talking about approximately 2 million, insinuating that a certain pressure toward assimilation exists. Figures, one also is told, simply could not account accurately for actual conditions.

Hungary's criticism of the Romanian minority policy, informed circles say, by and large concerns two points. Cross-border traffic of visitors, in Budapest's view, is made difficult by Bucharest. While Budapest gives its citizens no trouble in visiting relatives in Transylvania, Bucharest constraints such meetings---evidently by administrative measures. For one thing, the Hungarian citizens were not permitted to stay with their cousins in Transylvania. Staying in a hotel makes such trips expensive and also does not conform to ordinary custom in a part of the world where kinship loyalties are

still much more effective than in Western Europe. And then also, far fewer return visits from Romania are authorized. There exists between the two countries no doubt an incline in the standard of living running from west to east and also one in terms of individual freedoms. Bucharest seems to be little interested in having these differences become all too obvious to its population.

Differences in the Evaluation of History

Hungary also takes exception with Romania's official and unofficial accounts of historic fact. The Romanians consider themselves the descendants of the Getae-Dacians who lived in that area prior to the Roman invasion (101 A.D.), making the claim they had lived in these territories without interruption. In the course of the modern period, according to the Romanian view, these peoples, that is, the Romanians and the Hungarians, had been united. The Hungarians, as it were, had integrated themselves with the Romanian nation. There is something fictitious about this version. A Romanian state was founded only in 1877, and that without Transylvania. According to the Hungarian interpretation, the Magyars, arriving in Transylvania in the 9th century, found an abandoned land without any traces of Getae-Dacians. To understand the tension between Romanians and Hungarians it also has to be taken into account that the Hungarians formed the upper stratum of Transylvania for centuries, until the end of World War I. The aftereffects of that constellation have not been effaced by the socialist social orders installed for 30 years now in both Budapest and Bucharest.

Minorities Here and There

About the borders of the two countries there is no dispute today. The 1920 Trianon Treaty, which severed Transylvania from Hungary, is a reality to the communists in Budapest with which they have reconciled themselves--if with audible gritting of teeth and regret. In the Hungarian view, however, minorities should be elements that should unity and not separate the peoples. In those terms government sources are pointing out that contacts are much simpler with the Hungarians living in Slovakia--there are a few hundred thousand. Nor are there any difficulties about the Hungarians in the Yugoslav autonomous province of Voivodina. Budapest is resisting the reproach it is interfering in the internal affairs of Romania, but it is pointing to its own treatment of the nationalities. Before a court, members of a minority may use their own language. In the town of Pecs in southern Hungary signboards were recently erected showing the town's German name, Fuenfkirchen. In contrast the use of the Hungarian names for the towns of Cluj-Napoca (Klausenburg in German, Kolozsvar in Hungarian) and Oradea (Grosswardein in German, Nagyvarad in Hungarian) is not permitted in Romania. Granted, the nationality problems are comparably smaller in a state whose minority areas were almost all amputated in 1920 and had its area reduced to one-third.

After some cutting reactions from Romania initially, Budapest now evidently wants to shift the talks onto more tranquil tracks. As the Romanian counter-polemics are principally opposing interpretations written by Hungarian

emigrants, the Hungarian communists can ignore them, even if their own views at times do not greatly deviate from them. The aim of Hungarian policy lies in implementing the agreement signed last summer by Kadar and Ceausescu on setting up consulates in Debrecen and Cluj and inducing more rapid Romanian action.

5885

CSO: 2300

ALBANIA

PARTY DAILY CALLS FOR CONSISTENT CLASS STRUGGLE

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 11 May 78 p 1 AU

[Editorial: "Let Us Wage the Class Struggle Always Consistently"]

[Text] The theory and practice of socialism, the revolutionary life and activity of our glorious workers party, have clearly confirmed and confirm the objective necessity to always understand and develop the class struggle correctly and consistently during the entire period of transition from capitalism to communism. Our party has implemented with firm loyalty the Marxist-Leninist theory on the class struggle and has always considered it as the main driving force of our society. As noted once again by Comrade Enver during his visit to Gjirokaster and Sarande districts, it is precisely because the AWP has constantly and resolutely adhered to the line of the class struggle and has waged it always correctly and consistently that our country has become an invincible bulwark of socialism on the Adriatic shores, that our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat has stood and stands like a granite rock, our socialist economy has been developed and is being developed at a rapid pace, culture has made much progress and our new man has been educated, thus securing a constant advancement toward communism.

Our party has acquired rich revolutionary experience in developing the class struggle, an experience of great theoretical and practical value. It is necessary to draw worthy conclusions and lessons from this experience for defending the party, the state and the entire country also in the future from the danger of the bourgeois-revisionist degeneration and for further purifying the workers conscience from the "dross" and alien blemishes and consolidating their revolutionary proletarian spirit.

The party organizations and their instruments, mass organizations, communists, cadres and workers should become well and thoroughly acquainted with the sources of the class struggle in our socialist society, as this is of principled and practical importance. In the class struggle -- waged by the working class, the cooperative peasantry and the other working masses, under the party's leadership -- to carry the socialist revolution to total

and final victory, they encounter remnants of the exploiting classes and their designs and efforts to recover "the lost paradise" and also the two-fold savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement. They encounter the intentions and efforts by the external enemies designed to destroy the socialist order by the ideological aggression or military aggression; the appearance of new capitalist elements and new internal enemies; the blemishes of the old society which obstruct the party's ideology and its proletarian policy as the ruling ideology and policy; the so-called "bourgeois right" in the field of distribution which the socialist society is compelled to use, although it is increasingly limiting it; and the discrepancy between the city and the countryside and the mental and physical work which cannot be immediately eliminated. These then are also the sources of the class struggle in our country. The more effectively we keep in mind these sources in practice, the better and more correct we can wage the class struggle, and the greater will be our victories.

However, what is happening? These sources are not well kept in mind everywhere and in all instances and consequently the method of class analysis as the only correct method for examining and resolving problems is not always implemented correctly. As a result, underestimation, or inadequate and cursory understanding of the danger of imperialist-revisionist encirclement and of the struggle against it, have been noted in some cases. This has occasionally led to relaxation of revolutionary vigilance. It is known that the intentions of our enemies are to undermine our internal front, to spread their ideology and morality and instigate and encourage the antisocialist and counterrevolutionary elements within the country. But what should we do? The opposite. We should instill deep into our people the party's opinion that the imperialist-revisionist encirclement is not at all passive and simply a geographical one, but a threatening active encirclement that opposes us in all fields and directions. We should everywhere counterbalance the united front of the enemies with our internal front -- in the field of defense, the economy, policy and ideology -- by always consistently waging the class struggle.

Our experience in the revolution and socialist construction confirms, in the best way, the Marxist-Leninist teaching that at the foundation of the class struggle lie antagonistic and nonantagonistic contradictions. When they are resolved correctly through the development of the class struggle, the society advances, whereas failure to resolve them correctly is fraught with dangerous consequences for the destinies of the revolution and socialism, because it opens the way to opportunistic and sectarian attitudes which seriously harm the party's line. For this reason, it is necessary to thoroughly recognize the existing contradictions in our socialist society, to distinguish and analyze their nature in every concrete case and to always pursue a revolutionary method for resolving them, falling neither into opportunism, nor sectarianism. In his speech at the meeting with the cadres of Gjirokaster District Comrade Enver stressed: "All should correctly understand the party's line, which is neither opportunistic, nor sectarian. It has been said that the actual danger lies in the rightist opportunism.

This is true but the leftist opportunism, sectarianism, is no less dangerous than the rightist opportunism. The party's line opposes both these extremes. The ideology of our party is the ideology that resists opportunism but, at the same time, it also opposes sectarianism." In our daily life we encounter opportunistic attitudes toward the class enemy, cases of petit bourgeois sentimentalism practiced toward those who violate the norms of socialist society and the state laws, liberal attitudes toward manifestations alien to our ideology and morality and so forth. These are the results of confusing the antagonistic contradictions with the nonantagonistic ones. But we also encounter sectarian attitudes. At times some grassroots party organizations, communists and cadres, lacking a thorough understanding of the party's constant instruction, exaggerate and inflate some marginal flaw and defect and "digs" into the biography of the people. Cases have been noted when administrative methods and measures have been used when persuasion and education should have been used. The sectarian attitudes occur as a result of confusing the nonantagonistic contradictions with the antagonistic ones. People who bear them along are those who think that they are plenipotentaries, those who are arrogant and who frequently pose as being "consistent revolutionaries," "principled" people, whereas in fact they are sectarians and act in this way "in order to play it safe." Sectarianism, Comrade Enver teaches us, causes discontent among the people and constraints and obligations beyond the party norms and also creates a serious situation for the party. Therefore, the party advises us to strongly oppose both opportunism and sectarianism. The only revolutionary attitude in this matter is that both the struggle against opportunism and the struggle against sectarianism should be waged successfully from the principled positions of Marxism-Leninism, being aware of and consistently implementing the party line and directives. Only by always correctly implementing the party's Marxist-Leninist line and by recognizing and resolving, in a revolutionary way and without deviation to the right or left, both types of contradictions can the monolithic unity of the people around the party be preserved, developed and constantly ever more steeled.

The AWP adheres to the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the class struggle in socialism is waged frontally in all directions, in the political, ideological, economic and military fields. In this we should carefully keep in mind one thing: at a given time one form or another of the class struggle may gain prominence, but the struggle must be waged on all fronts on every occasion. Why? Because we are waging the revolution in all fields and directions. The enemy also opposes us in all directions. The seventh historic congress stressed that "that class struggle is not complete that is not waged in all its major aspects -- political, economic and ideological." Since all three major forms of the class struggle -- political, ideological and economic -- are combined with and complement each other, the successes in one direction constitute a powerful base also in the other directions and vice-versa, the weakening of the class struggle on one front leads to its weakening on another front.

The great tasks facing our country at the present stage of its development raise the need for the party organizations to further strengthen their leading role in all fields and aspects of the development of the class struggle, that no situation, no matter how complicated it may be, should take us by surprise at any time. We must concentrate all our efforts in this direction, because this is the key that helps us and that will always help us in the correct and resolute development of the class struggle to advance consistently and always victoriously march on the brilliant path of socialism and communism, wisely and farsightedly led by the AWP, the sharp edge of the sword of the working class led by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

CSO: 2100

BULGARIA

YOUTH DAILY ANALYZES TERRORISM IN ITALY

[Editorial Report AU] The Sofia Daily NARODNA MLADEZH on 11 and 12 May 1978 carries on page 3 two 1,000 word installments by Georgi Todorov, BTA Rome correspondent, entitled: "Madism, political terrorism, and left-wing extremism" on the political trends of the youth movement in Italy. The first installment, referring to the recent dramatic terrorist events in Italy, mainly describes the background of unemployment and economic difficulties, the lack of education and lack of concern for young people's interests in modern Italian society. According to Georgi Todorov, these are the reasons for inducing young people to adopt an anarchist attitude of despising everything and everyone and accepting Madist, extremely left-wing ideas. This is a state of affairs in which the right wing extremists and most reactionary forces take advantage of the situation.

In the second installment Georgi Todorov pursues the idea of the close links existing between the neo-fascists and the most extreme Maoist groups and describes the parallels between them. The author stresses that the "political practice of both groups is the slogan of 'contesting the state system' and of 'opposing institutions' through provocations and acts of brutal terrorism." Certain traditional slogans of Trotskyism are also maintained and further developed by the extremist groups, such as Trotsky's theory about "worldwide revolution and its obligatory link with world war." Todorov stresses that the communists and workers as well as all progressive public opinion strongly reject such theories and acts of terrorism committed by these groups, which call committing all those crimes on behalf of the proletariat. The author notes that the terrorists obviously want to create an atmosphere of fear and insecurity throughout the country. Todorov then adds: "Today there is factual proof that the conspiracy is guided and financed by well-known centers and services. According to General (Yarborrow), the former head of the CIA 'special operations' department, the task of these centers and services is to 'cooperate with all right wing forces and Maoist and anarchist organizations in West European states for the purpose of inflicting a simultaneous blow against certain liberal-democratic regimes and against the workers movement and its class parties.'

"At the same time the documents of the 10th CCP Congress officially contained the statement that 'revolutionary forces must enter into a necessary compromise with imperialism.' This is a statement the Italian Maoists are interpreting as a 'compromise for joint action with reaction against the forces of the workers class and of socialism.'" These so-called "joint actions" are aimed against the following establishing institutions: the judicial and executive organs and their representatives, such as judges, lawyers, civil servants and others: the organizational structure of the state, which includes examples of attempts to destroy such institutions and attempts at the lives of executives and managers of such institutions; the mass information media; the educational institutions, as well as against the church, in the attempt to incite Italian Catholic youths against cooperation with the workers masses. According to Todorov the "joint actions" are also aimed against all democratic political organizations, which is the reason for terrorist attempts against the headquarters and clubs of democratic parties and organizations, for the attempts to disrupt political rallies and meetings of such organizations and last but not least, for attempts against the lives and the kidnapping of local political leaders and political figures. The Georgi Todorov series continues.

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

COURT PROCEEDINGS IN PAZARDZHIK DESCRIBED

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Apr 78 p 2

[Article by Momchil Gurev, correspondent of RABOTNICHESKO DELO: "Themis' Scales"]

[Text] "Not long ago I had to visit the district court in Pazardzhik. My impressions of the conditions under which the court operates were quite unpleasant..."

The reader is defending the court! Strange!

There was no electric power during the time of our investigative visit. The picture was difficult to describe. In the winding corridors, with sunken floors and peeled wet walls, people were trying to find their way carrying candles and calling the summoned, who were pushing and shoving in the darkness. It happened during the day but the corridors had no windows. Somebody may argue that the power outage was an exception. The point is that it was not. "The electric installation of the building is in poor technical state, and it does not have the capacity for the required load switched in at various time"--states one of the protocols. "The cables are small in diameter, old, and with diminished conductive capacity, a situation which leads to short circuits and melting." Therefore, there are frequent recurrences of outages. Jokes are going around that here Themis does not have to be blindfolded. There are other perils as well! Most of the premises and courtrooms use electric heaters only, which means, that the people who work there are quite often in a deep freeze.

"The outward part of the building as well as the ceilings on many places have deteriorated," states the above-mentioned protocol. "Over 80 percent of the roofing tiles are cracked and broken... All gutters, drainage pipes and water spouts have rotted. Thus, when it rains water runs down the walls and from the ceiling of seven of the rooms. The attendants use pots and buckets. The bad appearance and dirt are the lesser evils. The water even seeps into file cabinets and damages documents. In many court cases, important depositions are illegible. Mildew and dampness have destroyed some of the documents.

"The consequences thereof are more than unpleasant. In five spots the ceiling plaster has fallen down and one can see the sky. Luckily nobody has been hurt. The next ceiling to cave in will be that of the president of the court..."

The court proceedings are held under exceptionally bad conditions as well. The courtrooms, if we could call them so, are not in a better state than the other premises and "offices" of the judges. First of all, the defendants must be led to the place of trial as alone they cannot find their way in the complicated labyrinth of ugly corridors. And some of the verdicts are pronounced in an atmosphere of music, as one of the courtrooms is separated from the stage of the Home of the Teacher only by a piece of plywood. The effect in this case is striking: to the judge, to the accused, as some of them are sent sometimes to jail, and to all present in the "courtroom" as well. There have been instances when the entire platform, along with the members of the court, has collapsed during a trial. "due to the fact that there are not enough courtrooms, the time schedule of the trials cannot be followed, and quite often the constitutional principle of an open trial is violated."

Legal and administrative service for the people is also hindered by the inadequate functioning of the offices and the poor state of the documentation. All this wastes the precious time of the people and aggravates the nerves of the employees.

And lastly, the poor work conditions in the district court should also be judged from the psychological point of view. It concerns the authority of this important state institution. The building itself does not inspire any respect in the citizens. The funny incidents which take place do not suit the name "courthouse." The lawyers and employees who have to work under such conditions feel depressed and in poor spirits. And this, of course, reflects upon the quality of their work. We should refer also in this case to the district prosecutor's office which is located in the same building as well. Furthermore, foreigners also violate our laws and they have to be summoned to this building like everybody else...

The district court and district prosecutor's office have been working under these conditions since 1970. They have often requested the city council to designate a more adequate building for them, but so far they have received only a work of "understanding" and compassion. It is true, that at this stage of development of the town there is a great shortage of public buildings. But this question should have been resolved long ago by giving priority to the state and public institutions according to their need. The protocol of the inspection on labor safety and sanitation and fire protection in the district court and district prosecutor's office stipulates these institutions to be relocated to another building or the old one to be renovated not later than 1 March of this year. "if the time period is not kept, the work premises will be sealed," states the protocol. This stipulation must be fulfilled with equal assertiveness. The inspection took place at the end of January. Time is flying but nothing has yet been done. Is the city council going to dispel the doubt that the stipulation is going to be fulfilled?

BULGARIA

REGULATIONS CONCERNING RIVER NAVIGATION SUPERVISION ON DANUBE

Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 21 Apr 78 pp 379-81

[Council of Ministers. Regulations on River Navigation on the Danube. Adopted by the Council of Ministers through decree No 658 of 1954, published in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK No 99 of 1954, with amendments and additions of 1962-63, adopted by CM with decision No 42 of 1978]

[Text] Chapter I

General Provisions

Article 1

These regulations determine the general procedure and system of river navigation supervision on the Danube.

Article 2

The river navigation supervision aims at the observation and control of the regulations of navigation and the assurance of the safety of navigation as well as at protecting the hydro-technical and harbor facilities and navigational plan.

The supervision is carried out without discriminating against the national origin of the vessels, their points of departure and destination and any other reasons.

Article 3

The navigation supervision is carried out by the port captains of each country bordering the Danube as far as their own sector of the river is concerned.

This supervision is exercised in the harbors and along the waterway of the vessels.

Article 4

The directives of the river navigation supervision authorities affecting the observance of navigation regulations and safety of navigation are mandatory for all vessels, organizations, authorities and private persons that use the waterways and ports along the Danube.

Article 5

The vessels engaged in navigation supervision must have on either side of their bow a visible uniform emblem as described below. The river supervision vessels are required to have the national flag and a pennant in white with the emblem in the middle.

These vessels, when exercising their official functions during the night must carry flashing blue lights which may be seen from all directions.

Article 6

The provisions of Articles 9, 14, 16, 17, 18 and 19 of these regulations do not apply to military and coast guard vessels.

Chapter II

River Supervision in the Ports

Article 7

The organs of river navigation supervision, while carrying out their functions in the ports; engage in observation and control for the following purpose:

- 1) To have all crew, organizations, authorities and individuals in the port and within the waterway observe the mandatory provisions which apply to the procedure and safety of navigation as well as to preserving the equipment and navigational set up;
- 2) To have all vessels when entering and leaving the harbor as well as those in transit or those moored in port observe the rule for carrying lights, proper showing of signals and all other orders established by the navigation regulations;
- 3) To have all piers in the harbor kept clean and in necessary order and the waterway to be unobstructed for navigation;
- 4) To have the loading and unloading work done according to the loading and unloading regulations, guaranteeing safe lay-over for the ships, especially for those with dangerous cargo;

- 5) To have the harbor buoyage system stationary at all times and to follow the requirements for safe and unobstructed transit of the ship in the harbor's waterway
- 6) To have the crew of each ship, organization and private persons obey the rules of fire-safety in accordance with the location of the vessel as well as the mandatory rules of the port;
- 7) Fishing and water sports in the waterway of the port not to obstruct navigation;
- 8) The method of laying up ships to conform to the requirements for safe lay-over of the fleet as well as for protecting shore equipment; to conform also to the rules in the respective harbors and winter lay-up areas;
- 9) To observe the regulations for formation of convoys;
- 10) To take timely measures to remove from the waterways in the port areas sunken ships and any other devices jeopardizing the safety of navigation;
- 11) To guarantee that the hydro-technical and other work in the port and its waterways does not hinder navigation and that they be marked with appropriate signals;
- 12) To have the competent authorities, organizations and the crews of the ships take the necessary measures during high water, flood or ice flows to guarantee safe lay-over of the ships in the port and its waterway.

Article 8

The organs of river supervision survey and control the port lights, light-houses, beacons and all other aids to navigation.

Article 9

The captain of the port directs the movement of the arriving and departing ships by checking the ship's documents in accordance with the navigation regulations of each country on the Danube.

Article 10

The port captain is responsible for registering the ships in the Danube posts ship registry in compliance with the existing laws of the country in which the registration is being done.

Article 11

The provisions of Articles 9 and 18 of these regulations do not apply to ships in transit or ships located in the harbor or its waterways or in areas for temporary lay-over because they were denied "off duty" time and had stayed less than 24 hours.

Article 12

The port captain informs the ships' leaders by all communication means at his disposal of any changes in the navigation waterways. He has the right to require the captains and petty officers of the ships to report immediately to the competent authorities all changes or removal of the buoyage system used to direct the ships.

Chapter III

River Supervision of the Navigation Waterway

Article 13

The organs of river navigation supervision, while carrying out their functions, observe and exercise control for the following purpose:

- 1) To have all ships using the Danube obey the rules for carrying lights, using signals as well as obeying all other rules and regulations of navigation;
- 2) To have all organizations and private persons using the waterways, as well as those involved in various ways with navigation on the Danube, comply with navigation safety rules;
- 3) To insure that the navigation set up has its regular location and corresponds to the conditions for safe navigation of ships;
- 4) To have all areas that are difficult to navigate, that have poor visibility due to natural hazards, marked by warning devices;
- 5) To have the navigation openings of bridges marked for day or night navigation, respectively;
- 6) To have the waterways adequately kept for river ships and in some areas for sea ships;
- 7) To have all areas for ferryboat passages, underwater or surface cables or pipelines from shore to shore marked with appropriate warning devices;
- 8) To have kilometer signs on the Danube shores visible from the waterway;
- 9) To insure that the hydrotechnical and other work done along the waterway does not hinder navigation and that it be marked with warning devices;
- 10) To insure that piloting in the areas where it is mandatory be done by certified pilots or by pilots allowed to work following the established pilot rules.

Chapter IV

Functions of River Supervision in Cases of Accidents

Article 14

The port captain renders immediate assistance to ships and other types of vessels in distress having the right to call, if necessary, any ship in the vicinity.

Article 15

In case of ships sinking or ships going aground in the waterway, if the captain, the petty officer or the ship owner cannot move the ship immediately and remove the obstacles in the waterway hindering navigation, the port captain shall take measures to mark the accident area and request the ship owner to provide the work necessary to clear the channel within a set time.

In case this requirement is not met, the port captain shall clear the river basin with his own means and within the set time at the expense of the ship owner.

Chapter V

Article 16

This chapter defines the administrative procedures in case of accidents connected with the Danube navigation.

Article 17

- 1) The purpose of accident investigation is to establish whether or not navigation regulations were violated, explain the circumstances of the accident and determine in advance the reasons for the accident, the persons responsible, as well as the consequences thereof.
- 2) The authorities responsible for investigating accident cases (investigation authorities) are the port captains of the Danube countries or the respective authorities of river supervision who are organs for preliminary investigation. Representatives of the interested parties can participate in the investigation. Their participation must not delay the inquest.
- 3) The competency of the investigation authorities is determined on the basis of the following navigation cases:
 - a) The investigation of accidents in the country's territorial waters falls within the competence of the investigating authorities of the respective country;

b) The investigation of accidents which have occurred at or in close proximity to the border falls within the competence of the authorities of the bordering countries on the basis of rotation or another principle as determined by these countries in accordance with Article 23 of the Convention on Danube Navigation of 1948;

c) The investigating authorities do not undertake any investigation if there has been no violation of the navigation regulations and if the consequences of the accident are limited to the vessel alone.

4) The captain (or petty officer) is bound to report the accident verbally or, if necessary, in writing to the closest competent organs and to submit to them for clarification the facts listed in Item 1 of this Article, as well as the necessary data and documents, namely: detailed report including the circumstances, consequences and causes of the accident, a sketch of the river area where the accident has occurred and the position of the vessel(s), a copy of the ship's log referring to the accident, a list and description of the damages and, if necessary, photographs.

5) The investigating authorities, abiding by provisions of Item 3 of this Article, investigate the accident on the spot or in the harbor where the vessel has arrived or has been towed after the accident.

The investigation of the accident must be completed within the shortest possible period.

Without violating the rights of the competent authorities, the investigation must not lead to unjustified detention of vessels or crew members by the circumstances of the case.

The investigating organs or competent authorities are bound to present to the interested countries a copy of the conclusion of the investigation and, if possible, copies of the other documents of the case.

6) In investigating the accident, the investigating organs may make recommendations to the respective competent authorities regarding the necessary measure for preventing accidents in the future.

Chapter VI

Detention of Ships and Preventive Measures

Article 18

The port captain has the right to deny clearance to a ship in the following cases:

1) In cases where a navigation certificate has not been issued for use of a country's flag or for seaworthiness.

- 2) In cases where leaks in the hull are beyond the pumping capacity of the vessel;
- 3) In cases of inadequate steering or anchor system;
- 4) In cases where cargo on deck threatens the stability of the ship;
- 5) In cases of overloading and violation of the load line as determined by ship documents;
- 6) In cases where the number of passengers exceeds that determined by the ship certificate;
- 7) In cases where the cargo is loaded wrong and hinders steering visibility;
- 8) In cases where the crew does not have documents or certificates according to the laws of the country under whose flag they are navigating;
- 9) In cases where fire-fighting equipment, water pumps, signals, anchor gear and other equipment are inadequate.

The port captain will allow the ship to depart as soon as the captain of the ship, the petty officer or the owner takes the necessary measures to correct causes for the ship's detention.

Article 19

The port captain has the right to reprimand, warn or indict and fine the captain, petty officer or individuals using the navigation waterways, when they violate the existing navigation regulations and stipulations for navigation safety, depending on the gravity of the violation.

Chapter VII

Final Provisions

Article 20

The regulations for river supervision can be amended or supplemented by the Danube Commission.

Article 21

In case of disputes over the interpretation or application of articles of these regulations on river supervision, such disputes shall be resolved by the procedure provided in Article 45 of the Convention on Danube Navigation.

Article 22

These regulations on Danube River supervision are adopted by the Danube Commission in Galats on 19 February 1951 and have been supplemented on 2 February 1962 and 13 February 1963.

Supplement to Article 5

The visible uniform emblem described in Article 5 of the regulations must be placed on both sides of the bow, have a diamond shape on a white background framed in blue.

In the middle of the diamond stands the ship's number painted in black. The diamond's size must be: length of horizontal diagonal - 80 cm; length of vertical diagonal - 65 cm; width of the blue margin of the frame - 10 cm; height of the numbers - 20 cm.

Note: The size of the emblem can be enlarged or reduced in proportion to the size of the vessel.

The river supervision pennant as mentioned in Article 5 must be white and represent an isosceles triangle with sides of 1.0 meters and base 0.5 m. The mark of the river supervision is on each side of the pennant.

1010

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

BULGARIAN-IRANIAN COMMUNIQUE ON SHAH'S VISIT RELEASED

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 May 78 pp 1, 2 AU

[Apparent text of joint Bulgarian-Iranian communique on the official visit of His Imperial Majesty Mohammad Reza Pahlavi Aryamehr, Shahanshah of Iran, to the People's Republic of Bulgaria 16-19 May 1978]

[Text] At the invitation of Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, His Imperial Majesty Mohammad Reza Pahlavi Aryamehr, Shahanshah of Iran and Her Imperial Majesty Farah Pahlavi paid an official visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria 16-19 May 1978.

During their stay in Bulgaria the high-ranking guests and those accompanying them visited the towns of Plovdiv, Varna, and Tolbukhim and became acquainted with the Bulgarian people's way of life and with their achievements in the sectors of economy, culture and science. Wherever they went their majesties were welcomed with hospitality and with cordial warmth, which was an expression of mutual affection and respect.

Official talks were held between Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, and his Imperial Majesty Reza Pahlavi Aryamehr, Shahanshah of Iran, in which the following officials participated on the Bulgarian side:

Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs; Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Milko Balev, chief of the State Council chairman's cabinet; and Kiril Shterev, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to Iran.

On the Iranian side the following officials participated in the talks:

'Abbas 'ali Khal'atbari, minister of foreign affairs; Amir Arsalan Mafakhkham-Sanii, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Iran to the People's Republic of Bulgaria; (Hoessein Eshrakhi), director general on political questions for Europe and America at the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and (Yahira Motamed-Vasiri), head of the number two political department of the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

During the talks, held in an atmosphere of sincerity and mutual understanding, the present state and opportunities of further developing Bulgarian-Iranian relations as well as topical problems of the international situation were discussed in detail.

The two leaders expressed their satisfaction at the development and consolidation of friendly relations and at the active cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and Iran, relations which are based on the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems. The successful application of this principle in bilateral cooperation represents a convincing confirmation of their vital strength.

The great importance of personal meetings between the chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Shahanshah of Iran as well as between government leaders and the heads of various ministries and departments was pointed out.

The two sides also expressed their wish to hold regular exchanges of visits in the future between state functionaries as well as to expand contacts between representatives of science, culture and sports. The two sides agreed that the exchange of opinions on questions connected with the development of bilateral relations as well as on problems of the international situation plays a positive role and they confirmed their readiness to continue this tradition.

The chairman of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Shahanshah of Iran also expressed the intention of their two countries to continue to expand their relations of friendship and all-round cooperation in the future and to develop these relations in a spirit of mutual trust as it is conform to the wishes of their two peoples and as it is in the interest of consolidating international peace and security.

The chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Shahanshah of Iran expressed their satisfaction at the results of the mutually advantageous trade and economic cooperation existing between the two countries. They stressed the interest of their two countries in the implementation of existing opportunities for further expanding cooperation in the sectors of trade, agriculture, industry, transportation, science, culture and tourism.

The two state leaders expressed their high appreciation of the positive role played by the joint Bulgarian-Iranian committee and by the subcommittees attached to it dealing with the development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the two countries. They noted that the creation of a joint committee at ministers level in the cultural sector would contribute to the consolidation and intensification of cultural relations which will be to the advantage of both peoples.

In the presence of the chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and in the presence of the Shahahshah of Iran a long-term

trade agreement and a protocol on the measures for the further consolidation of economic relations were signed.

The chairman of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Shahanshah of Iran ascertained with satisfaction that the stands of their countries on numerous topical international problems are similar or coinciding.

The two leaders think that despite the complicated and contradictory character of the contemporary situation the trend toward the consolidation of peace continues to assert itself and favorable prerequisites exist for the further consolidation of the international atmosphere.

The two sides also confirmed their common wish to continue to contribute to the intensification of detente in the future and to its expansion in all parts of the world as well as strictly to apply the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems as well as strictly to apply the UN Charter.

The two leaders declared themselves in favor of stopping the arms race in stressing the necessity of devoting efforts to the achievement of universal and full disarmament under an efficient international control.

The chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Shahanshah of Iran think that it is of primary importance to safeguard a real alleviation of tension and to take prompt measures for disarmament, and above all, for nuclear disarmament,

The two sides declared themselves in favor of banning the research on and the production of nuclear weapons and of all mass destruction weapons. The two sides expressed their hope that the forthcoming special UNGA session on disarmament will be capable of giving a new impetus to the successful development of the process of detente.

The two sides noted that a reduction of tension exists in Europe and that better understanding has been attained among the European states in the spirit of the agreements contained in the Final Act of the CSCE adopted in Helsinki.

The two state leaders expressed themselves in favor of transforming the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace in accordance with the UNGA declaration adopted on this question.

The chairman of the State Council and the Shahanshah of Iran expressed their concern about the dangerous situation created in the Middle East. They agreed that the comprehensive settlement of this conflict can be achieved only through the implementation of respective resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council, through the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the Arab territories occupied in 1967 and through giving the opportunity to the Arab people of Palestine to implement their legitimate rights.

The two sides are in favor of liquidating racial discrimination and the remnants of colonialism. The two sides are also in favor of a prompt and efficient implementation of the UN declaration on granting independence to the colonial countries and peoples. The two sides are ready to support all positive efforts, within the framework of the UN, aimed at achieving these goals and at establishing a government of the majority in South Africa.

The two sides reviewed the state of tension existing in South Africa as a result of the policy of racial discrimination and apartheid which is being conducted by the minority regimes in that area. They once more confirmed their solidarity with the people of South Africa in their just struggle against the forces of racism, colonialism and exploitation. They expressed their hope that the last remnants of colonialism and racial discrimination in all their forms will be liquidated without any delay.

The chairman of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Shahanshah of Iran share the conviction that all controversial problems on the African continent will be resolved through negotiations and through respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the states and in the spirit of the UN Charter and of the OAU charter as well.

The two sides expressed themselves in favor of establishing equitable, just and mutually advantageous international economic relations and in favor of liquidating discrimination in international trade. They stressed the fact that all states have the irreversible right of freely controlling their own natural wealth and resources.

In noting the important role of the UN for maintaining universal peace and security and for the development of peaceful cooperation, the state leaders of Bulgaria and Iran both stressed the necessity of further strengthening this organization and of increasing its effectiveness on the basis of a strict and unrelenting observation of the UN Charter.

The two sides expressed their conviction that the visit of the Shahanshah and of the empress of Iran to the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the talks held between Todor Zhivkov, the chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and His Imperial Majesty Mohammad Reza Pahlavi Aryamehr, the Shahanshah of Iran, will give a new impetus to the expansion and intensification of businesslike and constructive cooperation between their two countries in the interests of both peoples and in the interest of peace throughout the world.

His Imperial Majesty Mohammad Reza Pahlavi Aryamehr, the Shahanshah of Iran, invited Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to pay an official visit to Iran. The invitation was accepted with satisfaction. The date of the visit will be set later.

CSO: 2200

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PCI'S PAJETTA COMMENTS ON INTERNATIONALISM IN NEW BOOK

Rome RINASCITA in Italian 14 Apr 78 pp 16-18

[Interview with Gian Carlo Pajetta by Ottavio Cecchi of EDITORI RIUNITI]

[Text] EDITORI RIUNITI is about to publish "La lunga marcia dell'internazionalismo" [The Long March of Internationalism], which consists of an interview with Gian Carlo Pajetta conducted by Ottavio Cecchi. By permission of the publisher we are printing the part that deals with the 10-year period beginning immediately after the 20th Congress of the CPSU and ending in 1968, the year of the "Prague Spring" and the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the troops of the Warsaw Pact.

Gian Carlo Pajetta retraces the events of those years, explaining the internationalist political texture that characterized the Italian Communist Party [PCI] following the 20th Congress (the international contacts, the Yalta Memorandum, the policy with respect to the rupture between the Soviet Union and China) and continuing up to the events of August 1968.

[Question] The period that began with the end of the "decade of the 20th Congress and Hungary" and continued through the sixties was unquestionably a period of crisis for internationalism. There was the break between the Soviet Union and China, for example, and in 1968 the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the troops of the Warsaw Pact. You have already spoken of the meetings with Khrushchev that took place immediately following the 20th Congress. Another meeting with Khrushchev that is worthy of mention is the one that Togliatti planned for the summer of 1964. Togliatti died, however, and we have the Yalta Memorandum to recall the meeting for us. To return to our central thesis, though: The problems of internationalism were stated in a new way in the Memorandum, hence the value and the significance of the decision by the PCI to publish that document. Let's

take things in chronological order and begin with the break with China. You went to China in 1959. What impressions did you receive there?

[Answer] Yes, I went to China in 1959 with a delegation representing the party. While there I got the very distinct impression that the Chinese policy line was in the process of diverging from the Soviet line. The Chinese had accepted--in the most explicit manner--the conclusions reached at the 20th Congress. They had accepted the denunciation of Stalin and of the Stalinist methods. In fact, the Chinese had published a document in which some of us discerned a desire to give a more profound historical explanation with the intention of avoiding what Togliatti had regarded as the crudities of the "secret report." In 1959 we also met with the top Chinese leaders, in an atmosphere of comradeship so pronounced that several of their number spoke to us with the greatest frankness of their own domestic difficulties. They spoke to us of the harshness of the civil war and of the ensuing repression (in this connection, I have always regarded as naive the attempt to present the Chinese revolution as a kind of idyll by comparison with the Russian revolution). They talked about the insubstantial nature of the allied parties. In particular, they emphasized the propaganda value of the noisy requests (as you will no doubt recall) that were being made in the streets--even to the beat of a drum--by "capitalists" who were begging for permission to turn over all their wealth and for assistance in transforming themselves into proletarians, even renouncing any claim to compensation.

During that visit we met Peng Chen; Teng Hsiao-ping (with whom we had an additional 6 hours of conversation while the plane was being repaired); Liu Shao-chi; and Chen Yi (who I believe is currently the minister of foreign affairs). We were ultimately received by Mao Tse-tung himself, with whom we had a long conversation. In the course of these various conversations we upheld Togliatti's positions (which at that time were also the Soviet positions) with respect to foreign policy and to prospects at the international level such as detente, the noninevitability of war, and the search for a national--and peaceful--road to socialism in our country. The response we received on these points was a cold one. Insidious questions were put to us, and on several occasions we had to respond with firmness to a polemical tone that had become apparent in our discussions. We argued for days at a time--and even late into the night--over every phrase in the final draft of the communique, so much so that I left the task of continuing this effort to Comrade Barca and the others. I asked them to let me sleep, and to call me only if they ran into problems that caused the Chinese to request my participation.

We signed that communique with a degree of formality appropriate to the signing of an international treaty. Mao Tse-tung was present at the signing, standing behind Teng Hsiao-ping. It was the last document signed jointly with the Chinese, and even then I was already regarding it as not being completely sincere, despite the fact that it proclaimed an identity of positions on the problems of peace, international relations, and (to

a certain extent) the results of the 20th Congress. The "hundred flowers," however, were fading, and if anyone spoke of them he did so only to tell us that many had already been cut. Someone even said to us: "Don't forget; during that period we too had our Hungaries."

The series of events that followed the 20th Congress was a lengthy one. Following the meeting with Khrushchev a conference of many parties was held in Bucharest during which the representatives of the Albanians (who for so long performed a symbolic function, as if--given their small size--they were the label on the huge cask that was China) rose up abruptly in opposition to Khrushchev and to the draft document that had been submitted by the Soviet Union. The possibility that this disagreement could lead to an incurable rupture seemed very remote and indeed out of the question. It was then that I had an argument of sorts with my brother, who had attended the conference in Bucharest. In discussing the conference with me he said, mentioning the name of the Albanian delegate: "He probably didn't even understand very well what Khrushchev had said." To which I replied: "An Albanian who doesn't understand very well what a Soviet representative has said will customarily have said 'yes' 5 minutes in advance, and so the fact that this time--after not having understood--the Albanian said 'no' is a matter of great concern. It means that he had brought the 'no' with him straight from Tirana, and in my opinion that must be regarded as significant."

It was, as I have said, a long series of events--a lengthy process in which two factors were paramount. In the new situation that resulted from this process it was the centrifugal forces that were influential: countries and parties either became differentiated or--in those cases where differences had already existed--proclaimed those differences. To render the process even more difficult and indeed traumatic, there was a lack of consistency and logic in dealing with the conclusions of the 20th Congress. The situation did not change even after the 22nd Congress, which marked a brief acceleration of the process. There was still no linear outcome of the process, however, inasmuch as Khrushchev's "defenestration" followed soon after.

Our party, meanwhile, announced its positions and set about implementing its autonomy, to the extent that when Khrushchev was dismissed (allegedly for reasons of health, although they even neglected to wish him a speedy recovery) a delegation set out from Italy to tell the Soviet comrades that we hadn't understood their explanations and weren't satisfied with them. The delegation went so far as to express its amazement--our amazement--that they would attempt to have Soviet citizens, the world, and us as well believe that their failure to wish Khrushchev a speedy recovery, their failure to express their thanks to a man who had until that moment imprinted his personality on the policies and history of the Soviet Union and of the international labor movement, was a mere oversight. Paolo Bufalini went to Moscow too.

I've gotten ahead of myself, though. In your question you mentioned Togliatti's trip to the Soviet Union to see Khrushchev. His trip was connected with the preparation of the Yalta Memorandum.

In this discourse of mine (which does not necessarily proceed as if one were turning the pages of a diary) I have called attention to three historic moments: the action of the Italian communists--following the 20th Congress--in announcing their position during the trip of which I have spoken; the Yalta Memorandum; and the trip to Moscow by the Italian delegation following the "defenestration" of Khrushchev.

There is no doubt that because of its content the Yalta Memorandum was the most sublime moment in the annals of the new internationalism, for it summed up the objectives in pursuit of which Togliatti had gone to the Soviet Union. The publication of the memorandum, following Togliatti's death, represented an important moment in the genuine debate that we had wanted to reintroduce into the international labor movement (here we have one aspect of the new internationalism) and also served to emphasize the need for making public the most important part of that debate. Publication of the memorandum was proposed by Longo, and approved by the secretariat of the party, during the time Brezhnev was here for Togliatti's funeral. It is clear that this decision was taken without any prior discussion or consultation with Brezhnev. I don't even know that he was told (for his information only) that we were going to publish the document. I was not present at the meeting of the secretariat that approved the decision to publish it, although I made my doubts and concerns known. I'm therefore not boasting that what I did required unusual courage. On the contrary, it seemed to me at the time that a greater degree of caution might be advisable. I must say that the decision made by Longo--with the approval of the other comrades of the secretariat--had already provided the solution to the problem: the solution that I have spoken to you about.

[Question] The publication of the Yalta Memorandum was a supreme moment for the PCI, coming as it did in the midst of a period that was unfavorable for internationalism. It came as a surprise, but I well remember that it was greeted with agreement and approval. Publication of the document was a further demonstration that the PCI had a style, an autonomy and a diversity all its own. Nonetheless, one had the impression that the party was entering a relatively lusterless period, a period of reflection. The year was 1964. In 1968 all eyes were focused on Prague when the party--and the labor movement as a whole--were shaken by a traumatic event: the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the troops of the Warsaw Pact.

[Answer] You described as a "supreme moment" the publication by the PCI of the Yalta Memorandum. It was indeed a supreme moment. Let's look at what brought about its publication, though. It was our concern--Togliatti's concern--over the need for taking action at a moment when slowness and delays had become apparent: at a moment when it appeared that the hopes aroused by the 20th Congress were flagging and that the signs of disagreement and divergence in relations with the Chinese and Albanians were

becoming increasingly obvious. You will recall our party congress, where we had a hard time inducing the Chinese to stay and speak their minds and also to hear our response. I myself made that response, which was to the effect that we did not accept their postulates and in fact rejected them most emphatically.

The Yalta episode can therefore be compared to the classic pebble that was thrown into what only appeared to be a quiet pond. Although the simile may well be valid, in view of the danger of a sudden squall, we shall speak only of waves that had already been making their presence felt.

Togliatti had intended to go to Moscow, and we in fact insisted that he go, even though we knew he was suffering from fatigue and would be better off going instead to the Aosta Valley. We believed, however, that only he would have the influence and the authority needed to carry out a mission of such great significance as the meeting with Khrushchev.

That moment which we called a "supreme moment" bore witness to the maturity of our function as a stimulating force, and also to the fact that the Italian party had adopted certain advanced positions. The Yalta Memorandum was published verbatim in PRAVDA, for example, and a city that is today one of the largest in the Soviet Union was named after Togliatti. It may have appeared to some observers almost as amounting to adoption of Togliatti's policies, and as an indication that our autonomous power of decision--and our consistent emphasis on the need for further development of the policies of the 20th Congress--were being viewed as one aspect of a process which was already involving an increasingly large part of the international labor movement, and as an indication that this process should go forward more rapidly.

It is universally true that anticipation is greater than realization, and this period was accordingly neither a period of great enthusiasm nor of rapid progress. It was indeed a period of reflection, and there was even fear that the "Khrushchevian tone" would do more harm than good. The fact is that more than one criticism of Khrushchev's activities during that period can be regarded as justified. The extent to which Khrushchev must be held responsible for causing the rupture with the Albanians during a rather inauspicious--but quite notorious--trip is generally understood, and the withdrawal of the technicians from China (as I have already pointed out) was not a wise move. In the Soviet world, in the socialist world--and especially at the decision-making level--it was felt that a more cautious course of action, a more circumspect procedure for restoring order to the situation, would be more advisable: that is to say, a course of action which would take the past into account, a past that had after all been in good repute until only a short time before. And then there were those who quite frankly thought it would be better to call a halt to the whole thing.

[Question] A short time ago, while speaking of the plans for Togliatti's trip, you said that the PCI had been pushing for completion of the work of the 20th Congress. His trip in itself showed that the PCI wanted to put an end to the hesitation and slow pace of that process. What other initiatives were taken?

[Answer] We continued to put our policies into practice. History is not made up solely of noisy episodes. We felt we should intensify our activity at the international level, and we did so. For example, we carried out a policy of maintaining relations with the French Communist Party that were more friendly than those which had prevailed during the Thorez period. Our relations with Waldeck-Rochet were fraternal in tone, as would become apparent during the difficult Czechoslovakian situation. We began to observe the Third World with increasing interest. Longo had visited Algeria even before the advent of Boumediene. Moreover, we sent a delegation to Egypt shortly after the Six Day War, and that was not the first delegation we had sent there. At the same time, I myself--accompanied by Secchia and Pavolini--went to see Nasir. I subsequently went to Amman (again accompanied by Secchia and also by Ledda) for a first-time official meeting with the PLO and with Arafat, following which we went to Syria to develop closer relations with the BAAS [expansion unknown] and the government then in power. We were subsequently invited to visit Iraq, on the very eve of the formation of the National Front. It was on that occasion that the announcement was made of the formation of the Front itself, with the inclusion of the communist ministers in the government. Our autonomy, and our concept of a new internationalism, were embodied in the practice--and recognition--of the principles of autonomy and diversity. They were implemented, moreover, despite the attempt to impose limits on the internationalism of the communist and labor parties by invoking the shared Cominternist origin of those parties together with the concept that every other part of the world had assigned to those parties the undisputed title of "vanguards" vis-a-vis labor organizations and national liberation organizations of (to use a somewhat vernacular expression) Division Two status.

It was not possible that everything would always be easy. You will recall the conference at Karlovy Vary in April 1967. Immediately following the conference there was a preparatory meeting in Prague, where a somewhat violent confrontation with the Pole Kliszko occurred. I had asked (and the Yugoslavs as well) that the Rumanians' request to attend as observers be honored. Kliszko responded by saying that the Polish delegation would not attend under those circumstances, because--he said--if everyone merely had to /observe/ the others he--Kliszko--did not know what his party was doing there. I thereupon refused to head the committee to which I had been assigned, and the work of the preparatory meeting was interrupted until a solution was agreed upon. Although that solution consisted of the explicit reaffirmation--by us and by certain other parties--of our reservations, it nonetheless forbade participation by parties that wished to be present solely as observers.

When we met at Karlovy Vary and Longo greeted Brezhnev (who was about to enter the auditorium where the meetings were to be held), Brezhnev said to him, in a rather amused but friendly tone: "It seems that yesterday, in Prague, Pajetta introduced himself by 'tossing the revolver on the table,' as if to threaten the other delegates...." In an effort to reassure Brezhnev I said: "We are people who shoot only when we think it's absolutely necessary. So long as it's possible to talk, we talk." The conference at Karlovy Vary was an important event, because of the conclusions reached and because of the contribution we made in the form of Longo's speech. It was a sign of the times that after heated debate all the delegations met with the journalists, including even the "bourgeois" journalists.

[Question] The policy of the PCI at the international level, during that period, was to strive for an internationalist pattern which by following up the moves made by the 20th Congress would make it possible to progress beyond the patterns of the old Cominternism and resolve the problems--extremely serious problems, as we have seen--of the cold war. But it was at that moment that the hammerblow fell: the troops of the Warsaw Pact invaded Czechoslovakia and interrupted the process of regeneration upon which the PCI and the broad working and laboring masses had looked with sympathy and interest. How did you learn of the invasion? What was your immediate reaction, and that of your party?

[Answer] You like to use drastic terminology, and your account is perhaps couched too much in terms of "hammerblows." Some "hammerblows" have fallen, to be sure, but they have their side of the story to tell too. The occupation of Czechoslovakia was a hammerblow, but the Czechoslovak question is more complex than that. The occupation was preceded by the "Prague spring," with its indecision, with events that today have given rise to criticism--including self-criticism--even on the part of some of the protagonists who paid a heavy price during that period. In this connection, and in order to show that not everyone was surprised to hear the rumble of the tanks, it will help if we retrace our steps somewhat. With the proviso, however, that self-criticism by anyone who felt obliged to temporize with the intervention is unacceptable.

When the existence, in Czechoslovakia, of a movement in behalf of regeneration became apparent, initially in the form of measures adopted at the top level and subsequently in the form of a gradual reanimation of the political scene, and when that movement became personified in Dubcek and Smrkovsky and hope arose for a revival of socialism from within the country, people saw in these events a kind of new 20th Congress--likewise from below--that would be capable of bringing more rapidly to maturity the process that had been initiated in the second half of the 1950's.

Italy was at that time in the midst of an election campaign. I wanted to talk with Longo about the new developments in Czechoslovakia. I went to visit him at his home, and we discussed the situation. I told him that

Czechoslovakia was the number one topic of discussion, especially in connection with the election campaign. I told him that not even during an election campaign could we afford to pay attention solely to our own country. A trip by him to Prague, I added, would be more useful than one political rally more or less. I said that if we regarded what was going on in Czechoslovakia as pertaining in a way to us as well, then there was no reason to remain silent about it. Longo didn't express many doubts and didn't resort to the quip that I've heard repeated so many times: "You're always thinking up some new stunt." The problem, he told me, was real and it was urgent, but added that it wasn't something for which you could improvise a solution. "We must talk it over with the comrades," he added, "for it ought to be clear that this is something to which we cannot be indifferent, regardless of what happens."

So it was decided he should go. Longo went to Czechoslovakia, expressed his sympathy and offered his best wishes for the success of the party, the people's movement and Dubcek personally.

It would be a serious mistake to imagine that what happened in Czechoslovakia could have for us solely an electoral significance. Our internationalism (as I believe must be obvious after all we've said up to this point) impelled us to look beyond the election. Accordingly, when the events in Czechoslovakia appeared to have a negative effect on the socialist countries, when the situation became clouded and gave rise to anxieties and uneasiness that could not be ascribed solely to enemy propaganda, we again intervened. I went to Paris with Carlo Galluzzi to discuss the situation with the French comrades. I told them of our concern over the situation and informed them that we were just passing through Paris because our destination was Moscow, where we planned to express our convictions with regard to the danger that the international labor movement would face if events such as those which had taken place in Poland and Hungary were repeated (events which, at the time they occurred, we had interpreted in a different way, for at that time it had seemed to us that there could truly be no other interpretation). The French comrades told us that they too had reached that very conclusion, and that as a matter of fact Waldeck-Rochet was himself about to leave for Moscow and could therefore go with us on our plane.

We went to Moscow and asked to see Brezhnev, but he was not there; he had gone to Warsaw. We talked with Suslov and Kirilenko. The Soviet comrades expressed their concern and their opinions while endeavoring to sound explicitly reassuring. On the evening of the same day, Galluzzi and I conferred and reflected on the conversations in which we had taken part. Among other things, we were not really convinced that events had now been clarified. We telephoned Rome and were told that it would be helpful to have a talk with Waldeck-Rochet before returning, in order to consult with him on the matter. My response was to the effect that the person on the other end of the line in Rome obviously did not have a very precise idea of what Moscow was like, or of how a delegation such as ours existed there. The notion that we could locate Waldeck-Rochet (and even if we did, that we would have an opportunity to confer with him) with only 12 hours left before our departure seemed to me rather strange.

It was obvious, however, that the old Cominternist still in me had made me unduly pessimistic about the possibility of tracking down Waldeck-Rochet, aside from the fact that I had not given sufficient weight to the assurances we had received in that regard. It turned out that the following day at 0700 hours I received a telephone call, and a French voice at the other end of the line informed me that Comrade Waldeck-Rochet wanted to talk with me before he returned to Paris. I replied that there was not enough time: that in only an hour the automobiles would be arriving to take us to the airport. I said, however, that we would do what we could. When the cars arrived we asked to be taken to the villa (we had learned it was not far from there) where Waldeck-Rochet was staying. We met with him, but our conversation was interrupted soon after it began by our respective entourages, who impatiently reminded us that we ran the risk of missing our planes: the one for Paris and the one for Rome. Believing that we still had some matters to discuss, we requested that Waldeck, Galluzzi and I be allowed to go to the airport in the same car, without interpreters. Our request was granted. En route we exchanged views (which were assuredly not very light-hearted), voiced our shared concerns, and agreed on the necessity of continuing to insist--even if from a distance--on the repercussions that could ensue within the international labor movement if measures were taken from outside Czechoslovakia--or if domestic movements occurred inside Czechoslovakia--that were liable to cause an abrupt interruption of a process under way: a process of whose difficulties we were not unaware, and whose possible errors we did not underestimate, but which appeared to us to be of extreme interest in view of the fact that it was going forward along lines with which we were in general agreement.

When we arrived at the airport we found Kirilenko there waiting for Waldeck-Rochet and Suslov waiting for me. They manifested some surprise at the manner in which we had altered protocol but greeted us cordially, and in returning their greetings we again voiced our concern.

The famous meeting in Czechoslovakia between the Politburo of the CPSU and the presidium of the Czechoslovak party subsequently took place, with an exchange of embraces and agreements, and appeared to have put an end to the matter.

With the matter thus apparently resolved, thereby demonstrating not only our firmness of purpose but also (as it later became obvious) the futility of the course we had followed, beginning with Longo's trip and continuing with mine, some of us decided to take a vacation in the Soviet Union, almost as if to underscore--by thus continuing our relations--the successful outcome of the events. I arrived in Yalta, where I was to stay a few days before continuing to the north and from there to Finland. My vacation and my trip, however, were interrupted 2 days after my arrival in the Crimea. That morning, while I was at breakfast, a comrade from Moscow arrived and handed me a letter in which it was stated that "the invitation extended by authoritative Czechoslovak comrades had been accepted, and the troops of the Warsaw Pact had entered Czechoslovakia."

I understood then why my attempts the day before to telephone Rome had been unsuccessful. Technical difficulties at the telephone exchange, I had been told, were the reason my call hadn't gone through. I didn't even have time to reflect on this circumstance, however, before I received a call from Longo, who was in Moscow. "Do you know what's happened...?" he asked. I said I did. "At this very moment," I added, "I hear them announcing the news on the radio. It's not even a secret any more." "Then go back to Moscow," Longo said. "We should get together before nightfall. I'm summoning the other comrades, and together we'll discuss what to do."

It was not too late for me to tell the Soviet comrades who had announced the arrival of a delegation of labor federation secretaries to keep all the Italians at the Simferopol airport--for it was useless for them to continue on to Yalta--and I would then explain to them what they should do.

There is probably no point in recalling the fact that when I told my daughter we had to leave I was interrupted by sobs. I lay down for a while on the bed and then packed my suitcase. At the Simferopol airport the comrades had learned what had happened and understood why I had taken the liberty of keeping them there. I said that all of us should be transported to Moscow, because we could not leave any Italians behind on vacation. Seats were found for them on the plane, and so their vacation trip had come to an end as well. I didn't catch up with Longo until that night, in a house in the outskirts of Moscow. "It's late for our meeting," he said; "I've already been in touch with the comrades in Italy. We felt we couldn't delay our decision. They have drafted a statement, and I have approved it. So that's that." I shrugged my shoulders to show that it had my approval too. "We're leaving tomorrow at 0700 hours," he added.

We left together with Pecchioli, who--if I'm not mistaken--had been located in Kazakhstan, at the airport where he was waiting to continue his journey, and was transferred to another plane to return to Moscow.

One thought troubled me: Would we return to Moscow, and if so when? We had once again been greeted cordially, and protocol was observed, but there had been an underlying tone of bitterness, truly intense bitterness. It had been 37 years since that day I arrived in Moscow for the first time, by train, and now I was leaving the city in a way that I had never left it before. We arrived in Paris and barely had time to cross the city on the run to confer with Waldeck-Rochet at French Communist Party headquarters. He and Longo agreed that their positions were identical. We returned to Italy.

Several months later, at a congress of the party of one of the socialist countries, I was asked to eliminate the reference to Czechoslovakia from my speech. I refused. I merely spoke the name "Czechoslovakia," in connection with 1938. My speech was applauded rather coldly, but it seemed to me that I had represented in a worthy fashion--perhaps more so than ever before--a party such as the Italian party was to be from that time on.

10992

CSO: 3104

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

NEW CPCZ COMMITTEE AT CHARLES UNIVERSITY

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 7, Mar 78 pp 31-33

[Interview with Ivan Bares, chairman, CPCZ Committee at Charles University, by Lida Geierova]

[Text] The CPCZ Central Committee secretariat discussed at its 6 December 1977 meeting the work, the organizational problems and the tasks of university party organizations in the period following the 15th CPCZ Congress. In this connection the secretariat decided to create all-school party committees at the Czech Advanced School of Technology, Charles University and other schools of higher learning whose faculties have a large number of basic party organizations and all-plant (faculty) committees. At a party conference at Charles University held on 11 March 1978 such a committee was elected. We asked its chairman, Ivan Bares, for an interview.

[Question] As of today, Charles University has a new party organ, namely, the CPCZ all-school committee, Why was this committee created and what is its role?

[Answer] The role of the committee is to implement the educational policy of the party at Charles University. Next, to unite ideologically, organizationally and politically all communists in the implementation of such a policy. Basically, this is a new stage in strengthening and improving the leading role of the party in implementing the resolutions of the 15th CPCZ Congress and of the highest party organs.

Overcoming the consequences of the crisis years, consolidating the political situation, introducing a workable atmosphere and improving communist education were managed at all faculties by the basic organizations and district committees of the party. The Faculty of General Medicine was an exception and the all-plant committee was in charge. The university as a whole was in these respects managed by the Prague City CPCZ Committee. By 1975, however, the membership base had grown to such an extent that it was necessary to establish all-plant committees of the party and enlarge the number of the basic party organizations. This led to the improvement of party life and

the recruitment of an ever-growing number of communist students for the party organization. All that is done at Charles University must correspond to social needs, and the new organizational structure of the party at the university should help in this respect.

The importance and seriousness of this task at Charles University is underlined by the fact that this university is not only our oldest but also the largest school. It consists of 10 faculties in Prague and three outside of Prague. The Prague faculties have an overall enrollment of 23,000 students in various types of programs and 13,000 of them are daily students whose education and training is supervised by almost 7,500 instructors and other employees. These figures indicate that Charles University trains the largest number of experts with higher educations than all Czechoslovak schools of higher learning--teachers, mathematicians, historians, physicians, philologists, journalists, geologists, chemists, physical education workers, physicists, pharmacologists, lawyers--and that its board of instructors represents a great scientific potential which makes the university an important part of the scientific and technical base in the fields of social sciences, natural sciences and medicine. Thus Charles University is not only an important educational institution but also a significant scientific center. The university's position in our society corresponds the attention given to the university by our party organs. The establishment of an all-school party committee illustrates the point.

[Question] You stated that the role of the all-school committee is to unite ideologically, organizationally and politically the communists in order to realize the educational policy of the party at the university. What specific tasks do you expect from the committee?

[Answer] Similarly as in other institutions, in our case the tasks of party organs and organizations closely related to the tasks of Charles University. Its rector, Comrade Zdenek Ceska, spelled out these tasks in detail at the all-school conference. First, there is the task of reforming the curriculum in keeping with the principles of the new educational system. We must see to it that students receive in the shortest possible time such knowledge as is necessary for their practical work and which will form a basis for their further training. In the realization of the Project of Further Development of the Czechoslovak Educational System, the university has a very important role because most of its faculties also train prospective teachers which means that the graduates must be ready to work in the new educational system. It means that instruction in all disciplines must be realized in the spirit of the new instructional plans which will include the most important scientific notions. Thus it is necessary in all individual disciplines to look for the largest amount of information to be fed to students while the knowledge of secondary importance will be included in the electives. At the same time, it is necessary to pay increased attention to study methods, to teach students the most effective ways of study and to prepare them for the fact that their study will continue for their

entire life. To this is related another task, namely, the improvement of postgraduate study and its introduction in those instances where it does not exist.

As far as the education process itself is concerned, it will be important to supplement the teaching of individual disciplines with instruction in Marxism-Leninism and to improve the ideological content of individual subjects. All this naturally will require further modernization of the pedagogical process and improvement of instruction. In other words, we must strive for unceasing improvement in training of people who will think and act in a socialist way, i.e., the people who will be politically conscious, ideologically mature and who will become good and principled citizens in their work and lives. As already stated, Charles University trains not only teachers but also physicians, lawyers, natural scientists and other experts and they all must be ready to act as educators of future generations. At the same time, we must not forget that the development of our society will be related to the growth and need of an ever increasing number of highly qualified experts in the national economy, state organs and scientific, cultural and health institutions. In educating these people, we must pay attention to the demands of scientific and technical development as stated in a discussion at the 1974 meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee and the July 1975 appeal of the Prague City CPCZ Committee concerning the unity between science and production. Attention must be given not only to the theoretical development of individual disciplines but also to the solution of practical tasks in the production sector and their mutual interrelationship. Charles University has concluded a number of cooperative agreements that are being successfully carried out, especially in the natural sciences and medicine. In the social sciences, there are possibilities for improving the university's role in solving the tasks related to the building of a developed socialist society and to the solution of individual problems in the areas of the economy, politics, ideology and culture.

The above pedagogical and scientific tasks are presently the main tasks of Charles University, stemming from the CPCZ policy in the area of education. Because of their social impact and significance these are political tasks. Hence, the all-school committee should make every effort to contribute to their realization. And this means that the committee must deal not merely with these tasks as such but with the ways and means for preparing the groundwork for successful pedagogical and scientific work. I have in mind primarily the tasks in the area of ideology and cadre work but also tasks which stem from the work of various social organizations, especially the Socialist Youth Union and the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, the internal life of the party, the improvement of the membership base and so forth.

[Question] Thus the role of the all-school committee is not to solve problems at Charles University but to assist in their successful solution. In other words, stated in more concrete terms, the leading workers of the

university--from top university officials on down to department heads--are responsible for solving the above tasks. Party organs and organization, especially the all-school committee, are responsible for seeing to it that these tasks will be considered. And they must be considered not in a superficial way but in the most effective way.

[Answer] Of course. I stated that one of Charles University's main tasks in the pedagogical area is reform of the school's curriculum. The all-school committee, too, will consider this as its main task. However, it will not attempt to solve it by itself but will assist in the successful implementation of it by stressing the interest of the entire society and the need for improved planning, management and coordination of pedagogical work. Special attention will be given to the departments which are important to the realization of the adopted measures in the area of education, science, ideology and political work, in other words, the area in which the pedagogical front finds its most concrete expression. As far as science is concerned, we will improve the influence of the party on the sciences' social direction and effectiveness. Emphasis will be placed on fulfillment of the uniform program of social sciences in the period following the 15th CPCZ Congress and on orienting natural sciences and medicine toward the solution of socially important tasks. We will attempt to overcome the diffusion and isolation of scientific work, support team and interdisciplinary work and see to it that, with the help of students' scientific and technical work, student collectives also will be drawn to this cooperation. We are focusing on integration of scientific and technical work at Charles University with other scientific centers in Czechoslovakia and other CEMA countries, especially in the solution of joint programs with fraternal universities.

In ideological work the all-school committee will concentrate on improving the training of teachers for their educational work in the pedagogical process. The committee will support every effort aimed at the application of the Marxist-Leninist world view in pedagogical and scientific work. While recognizing the need for varying approaches by teachers at individual faculties, the committee will introduce a complex and uniform program of political and education training of university teachers. It will lead party organizations and all-plant committees to assume responsibility for the effectiveness of all ideological and political work within their jurisdictions.

In cadre work we orient ourselves to long-range plans of cadre work and at the establishment of a cadre reserve for party, academic and other functions. We will assist in the effective placement of communists in individual centers and an even-handed distribution of tasks among them. As far as the work of individual departments is concerned, the committee will assist in improving the pedagogical, scientific and political qualifications of every teacher.

Serious attention will be paid also to the influence of the typical conditions of the pedagogical process and the influence of material conditions in the life of students on the results of pedagogical work.

[Question] The number of tasks which the all-school committee and the all-school organization of the party faces is really impressive. What will be the role of individual party members in the solution of these tasks?

[Answer] It is possible that not everybody realizes that the establishment of an all-school CPCZ committee will result in a great change in the life of party members at Charles University. We have created a large party organization with a complex structure of all-plant committees, basic organizations and party groups. The all-school committee continues the successful work which was achieved under the leadership of the party district committees. As far as the content of our work is concerned, we will be under the direction of the Prague City CPCZ Committee and we will continue to improve the leading role of the party at the university by unifying the party effort and directing it toward the most important political tasks. Each and every communist must have a concrete place and task in this work.

Together with the district committees and under the guidance of the city party committee, we will see to it that party work becomes not only the most effective but that it also contributes more and more to the interests of the party, university and society. The all-school committee will evaluate the work processes even within the internal interrelationships of the complex party structure of the university. It will distinguish between the management and the realization of political tasks and will respect the differences between the faculties of social sciences, medical sciences, natural sciences and others. However, as far as individual party members are concerned, all will be subject to the same demands, regardless of their discipline, party, academic or any other position. Our guiding principle should be a constantly improving quality of work. No one can take away the responsibility of communists from Charles University for the activity of the university or its individual parts. A great significance is attached to the quality of work of such organizational units as departments and party groups. It would be of no help if the leading functionaries would demand much from themselves but would be inconsistent about fulfillment of adopted resolution by individual departments. There is no doubt that there are many possibilities for improving our work. In the same way, it is certain that the most important of all is the work with students. For many years now, the class and social composition of students of Charles University corresponds to the class and social composition of our society. This political wisdom must be constantly protected.

As far as intraparty life is concerned, we must pay attention to improving the quality of party meetings and party groups. We will see to it that the most important problems are solved in a critical and demanding way and that the discussions take a concrete form and end in concrete tasks charged to

individual party members and in concrete resolutions. It is a good idea to check on the fulfillment of such resolutions publicly and specifically at party meetings and in party groups.

In short, the all-school CPCZ Committee will, through its entire work, help Charles University to always remain an organic part of our socialist society and see to it that its party organs and organizations remain a solid part of the CPCZ.

1277

CSO: 2400

EAST GERMANY

LDPD CHAIRMAN ASSESSES PARTY DEVELOPMENT

East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 12 Apr 78 p 3

[Article by Dr Manfred Gerlach, chairman, Liberal Democratic Party of Germany; deputy chairman, GDR State Council: "Reflections on Issues of the Day: Where Do We Stand After Our 12th Party Congress?" For related information, see JPRS 68982, 22 April 1977, No 1381 of this series, pp 1-97]

[Text] We are making good progress! This conclusion of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany (LDPD) at its fifth central executive meeting at the beginning of March in Berlin has also proved valid after the close of the annual general meetings in the approximately 2,700 basic units. Over 15,500 executive committee members, vested above all with the mandate of their party colleagues, are responsibly working on the equally demanding as well as honorable task of implementing the 1978 work agenda. They are actively and creatively preparing for the 30th anniversary of the founding of the GDR with this realization: the stronger the LDPD, the greater its contribution to socialism.

With that, well a year after the 12th Party Congress of the LDPD, which found a strong echo in the general public of our country and beyond, the most important answer to these questions is given: What has become of the LDPD? What does it represent? Where is it going?

Yes, the resolution of the 12th Party Congress have worked well. Their motivating tendency has considerably increased the party's fighting power. The final results of the annual general meetings demonstrated that the Liberal Democrats are actively and effectively contributing, within the total scope of their civic responsibility, to the further accomplishment of the primary mission--the strengthening on all sides of the German socialist state and its firmer rooting in the socialist community of nations. In the creation of the conditions necessary for the gradual transition to communism, they are reliable and respected allies along the way in evolving socialism. They are approximately 75,000 in number, which continually increases, and they are an important political factor in GDR socialist society. The fervent desire of all chairmen is to apply their skills and talents,

their capabilities and ideas, so effectively that they will also be sufficient for the demands of society in the future.

Our times require fidelity to socialism and confidence in its power, energy and creativity, joy in service and constancy, devotion to the cause and resoluteness in the accomplishment of the tasks.

But such attitudes are not given to us. Such qualities do not grow in a quiet little room. They require struggle, daily political testing, a vital party life, an atmosphere which knows no "hot irons" and no taboos, but rather impatience with things that impede initiative. No chairman of a basic unit should allow the numerous suggestions and incentives from the annual general meetings to drop from sight, so that critical points can be ignored by other party proceedings!

What brought us ahead so successfully? Faintheartedness and timidity perhaps? The easiest way perhaps? No, it was always the energetic strides forward, the high achievement which was both demanded and realized. To take smaller steps and to demand less are unsuitable considerations where accomplishments are great. Faded laurels make a bad pillow. Lofty challenges to each party member are an objective necessity, if we Liberal Democrats want to be at the forefront of the times. The road to more growth, prosperity and stability can only be paved through good actions and still better accomplishments. He who makes "weak" plans, no matter where he works, is deceiving himself. Action which does not reconcile itself to defects and shortcomings, and which combines discipline with boldness and the courage of one's convictions, is needed in order to exhaust all possibilities and reserves.

Already tens of thousands of Liberal Democrats are acting in this manner. To work in this fashion also means to give partisan aid in all places where experience is not yet extensive and to be intolerant in areas where backwardness in party work is simply taken for granted. That also complies with the instructions from Weimar. And the answer to the question of the "why" and "wherefor" of our initiatives and accomplishments is and remains a primary politicoideological assignment.

Weimar is traditionally the city of our party conferences. Weimar--the city in which the humanistic ideas of Goethe, Schiller and Herder and of man is noble, charitable and good came to fruition. Weimar--the city before whose gates this image of man was kicked into the abyss of fascistic barbarism. Weimar--today a city of socialism, a place of international understanding in the spirit of humanism.

There we also confirmed in March 1977 that our party consciously stands in the tradition of all progressive forces in German history. There we precisely defined our position in regard to the heritage, nurture and use of all humanistic and revolutionary-democratic traditions, even of the bourgeoisie. At the same time, we emphasized the necessity of using the lessons from the history of our party and our own traditions more fully than in the past.

This is not a goal in itself. It serves the purpose of further defining the socialist picture of history and deepening the socialist state consciousness in all members. Because that does not develop overnight or by itself. The greater the demands made by the conscious formation of evolving socialist society, the more socialism requires a scientific view of history. An awareness of the fact that socialism on German soil is the common undertaking of laborers and farmers, scientists and craftsmen, artists and teachers, of all working people, is an important source of socialist patriotism, for the German socialist national consciousness. This is even more valid since, in preparation for the 30th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, the history of the German people and the German workers movement has become an important field of ideological debate between socialism and imperialism. In this fight, the summary of the history of the SED, which conveys a major portion of our picture of history, deserves special significance.

The preoccupation with the history of the GDR and above all with the history of our party, is even more important since far more than half its members have joined only since the beginning of the 1960's. It is a particular duty of the work of our party to explain to them how our party became the staunch ally of the working class and its party, and how it is inseparably linked with the origin and growth of our country.

The members of our party must know that the struggle to establish the socialist society was no smooth and conflict-free way, but rather a difficult, complicated, deeply revolutionary process. In this process, the Liberal Democrats have attained their socialist fatherland through hard work. The GDR, the country of peace and humanism, the result and culmination of century-long struggles full of sacrifice, was worthy of their faithfulness and exploits.

After the 12th Party Congress, there has also been no lack of invective and slander of our party by the West. It reached a climax in the assertion that the LDPD is not an independent political power and that it has no possibility of being effective. This tale is almost as old as our party, but even through repetition, it does not increase in credibility.

The LDPD, highly esteemed as a partner in the alliance of the people under the leadership of the party of the working class, in soon to be 33 years of continual, practical work for social progress, is an independent, strong party which has committed itself to socialism and thereby has established a broad sphere of influence. It is also solving great problems for the future and steadily increasing its effectiveness for the good of the whole.

It is an unavoidable fact in socialist society, that the social progress which all classes and strata of people achieve through hard work, also benefits everyone. The LDPD members and the citizens intimately connected with them, have a share, in proportion to the amount of their active participation in the performance of the tasks. We are measured by our ability to do our part in the main undertaking and by our power to effectively carry out the party's mission in society. Every Liberal Democrat must be aware--and our annual

general meetings have elaborated on this realization very graphically--that sound partnership in all areas of society is a question of honor, for which one must answer with his whole person.

This is a demanding goal. We will also make further progress if a good quality politicoideological treatise is the focus of our activity in this direction.

In the second year of the attainment of the Weimar objectives, we also want to take this axiom to heart: We are properly utilizing the 12th Party Congress if we look upon its resolutions as a constant challenge to all members of the party to aim for great achievements on the main field of our battle in the development and strengthening of the socialist peoples economy and to still more imaginatively and effectively do justice to our growing responsibility for the whole.

What the Party Congress determined in its concluding meeting is absolutely valid: "Our plans are not a deed of gift; they demand hard work. The growth of our peoples economic potential is critical for further progress in all areas. The key to the realization of all plans lies in the optimum use of the virtues and capabilities which are inherent in socialism."

9241

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

FRG WEEKLY SEES GROWING HONECKER PERSONALITY CULT

Cologne RHEINISCHER MERKUR in German No 19, 12 May 78 p 14

[Article by Karl Wilhelm Fricke: "The Most Equal Among Equals. Honecker Personality Cult Assumes Grotesque Forms"]

[Text] Even the cabarets in the GDR are already joking about it--carefully, cautiously, that is understood. "But this is not a restaurant here," one entertainer said at Leipzig's "Pfeffermuehle" in answering the riddle why there was no Honecker portrait on the stage. The laughing audience confirmed he had been gunning for the truly silly custom of mounting a large-size color photo of GDR's "number one" in every hotel vestibule, every dinner restaurant in the GDR.

Pictures of the party chief and chief of state are hanging not only in the restaurants, party bureaus and official offices between Rostock and Suhl, also in the classrooms in schools, retail stores and bookstores an eternally youthful Honecker is looking down at his subjects. (Actually, it is always the same color photo!) And finally, for 5 marks anyone who still is not satisfied can acquire "a picture series of the life and struggle of the SED Central Committee General Secretary and Chairman of the GDR State Council," consisting of 24 black-white photos postcard size. Honecker always looks at you. The little picture album was published and compiled by the SED Central Committee's Institute for Marxism-Leninism and this precisely is what makes the case symptomatic: this kitsch was produced with the help of the party, it is politically intended, indicating a practice referred to as cult of personality in SED lingo, provided of course it is not pointed at Honecker.

However, it is precisely this cult of personality that is enjoying a comeback in the "workers and farmers state" since Honecker has been amassing in himself as much power as Walter Ulbricht once possessed: General Secretary of the party, chairman of the State Council, chairman of the National Defense Council--these are the three most important offices. No longer does he look at himself as an equal among equals, "anchored within the collective." He is a man fully aware of his power and vain enough--at best--to tolerate the cult of his personality and--at the worst--to foster it, for that too is conceivable.

Indeed, the Honecker cult is sprouting more and more new buds. More and more books by him have come out: "Speeches and Essays" by Honecker in four volumes, "Selected Speeches and Essays on SED Military Policy" by Honecker, also speeches and essays "On SED Youth Policy," and most recently, in two volumes, Honecker's speeches and essays on the "Marxist-Leninist Party and the Construction of the Party."

And as ever before it is of course also part of the political ritual in the GDR that the speeches and essays of the man who right now determines the policy guidelines in East Berlin are consistently praised and quoted as "fundamental," "authoritative" and "penetrating." No speaker, no journalist, no scientist who knows what he must do for himself can do without quoting the party chief and chief of state in order thereby to bestow on his own thoughts the proper political dignity, as it were.

Nor is there any lack of eager reviewers who would be praising the various Honecker editions to the skies. Though not a theoretician, but rather a practical politician with a sure sense for power and with organizational talent too, he is yet given credit today (not until today, however) for "theoretical thinking" which sets criteria "for every comrade," as Prof Hanna Wolf wrote recently, who is the rector of the Karl Marx Party College and who in a review of the last two compendia even lauded the evidence "that Erich Honecker constantly consults V. I. Lenin!"

That is not yet all. For more than half a year we now also have had the first officially produced and published biography, "Erich Honecker--Sketch of his Political Life," where throughout 223 pages the reader, without finding out about everything in Honecker's life--in fact, a lot is even covered up--, is told how the SED would like his life to be seen: transfigured, stylized into a proletarian epic, exemplary. "The policy of Erich Honecker is the policy of an Ernst Thaelmann of today," a quote from Anna Seghers, if without reference to the source. That quote is typical of the tenor going through the whole biographic sketch, from front to back.

Incessant hyperbole, embarrassing exaggeration makes the cult of personality rather repugnant. Strangely enough, that seems not yet to have occurred to the responsible agitators in East Berlin.

5885

CSO: 2300

COMMENTARY VIEWS BREZHNEV VISIT TO FRG, NEED FOR DISARMAMENT

East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1705 GMT 10 May 78
LD

[Commentary by Albert Reisz]

[Text] Regardless of whether they welcome the results of Leonid Brezhnev's visit to the Federal Republic, most observers agree that it was a political event of great international significance. Albert Reisz comments on some aspects of the negotiations in Bonn:

The bilateral aspects of the results of Brezhnev's visit to the Federal Republic are not diminished in any way if one looks at them in a wider international context, for strictly speaking everything that has been achieved in Bonn--and this is not little, as even some papers in the FRG are beginning to say--in fact goes beyond the bilateral framework. To be specific, probably at no other meeting of this kind has there been so much talk about the need to slow down the arms race, to achieve disarmament and to impart fresh impulses to international detente. Any view that these are only words which have been uttered or written down in the documents must be very strongly rejected. After all, agreement must be expressed in some way and this can be done only by the spoken or written word.

One cannot help suspecting that the lament in some FRG papers that these are only words is merely intended to hide the fact that they do not like the words "disarmament" and "detente," or in short that they do not believe in disarmament and detente. The whole direction of events is at issue. At the end of this month the UN Special Session on Disarmament will begin. The bilateral negotiations between the USSR and the United States on banning chemical weapons are making progress. Even before his visit to the Federal Republic, Leonid Brezhnev was able to state that some progress had been made at the SALT talks. The USSR has put forward an entire series of proposals for substantially reducing the arms race, and there are Western government circles which, beginning a few days ago, expressed less skepticism than in the past about the progress of Vienna disarmament talks--a fact which should not be underrated. For if this meant that the decisive

NATO countries were to abandon their sterile attitude in Vienna, it could only help push matters forward.

The world does not need more but fewer armaments; it needs disarmament. Not a single day should be wasted, Brezhnev said in his television address to the FRG population. This is an essential and perhaps the most important background against which the talks between Leonid Brezhnev and the responsible politicians of the Federal Republic took place. It is not a question of disseminating optimism at all costs, but it is a fact that it is better for detente that Helmut Schmidt should have signed a joint declaration which speaks of disarmament and detente the way it does rather than if there had been no such declaration. I do not wish to read more than that into the declaration, but as it stands this is a great deal. This is quite apart from the fact that it accords with the objective interests of the citizens of the Federal Republic, when one seeks to reduce armaments and ban weapons. They have every reason, therefore, to take a stand against those who oppose all this.

When an FRG paper asks why Brezhnev came to Bonn, seeing that he could not hope to draw the FRG out of the Western system of pacts, it asks a totally misplaced question. After all, no serious Western politician goes to Moscow to draw the USSR out of the Warsaw Pact. These are not the points at issue. The policy of peaceful coexistence proceeds from the premise that the partners of coexistence remain on their respective ideological positions. In contrast to circles like the ones represented, for instance, by FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, the socialist countries do not make it a prior condition for an understanding that the other side should act against his own convictions. But if somebody says that in Bonn the USSR was looking for partners to put a stop to the arms race, he should not be contradicted. Would that harm anybody?

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

COMMENTARY ON U.S. SUPPLY OF AIRCRAFT TO ARABS, ISRAEL

East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1705 GMT 17 May 78
LD

[Commentary by Klaus-Dieter Kroeber]

[Text] Good evening. The American Senate's approval of President Carter's hotly contested plan to supply 200 modern fighter planes to Israel, Saudi Arabia and Egypt gave rise today, too, to much discussion in the international press. Most observers agree that the decision, passed by 54 to 43 votes, concerning the \$5 billion project, constitutes--as a lot of papers put it--quite a sensational defeat for the so-called Israeli lobby in Washington, which literally right up to the last minute tried to prevent the deliveries to the two Arab countries.

Well, dear listeners, I would not describe the Senate's decision as sensational. For anyone who follows American policy particularly in the Orient in recent times, there have been various signs of the way in which American policy is betting more and more on its second card in the Middle East game. The first card--and nothing will change this, for the aircraft deliveries do not alter the military balance of forces in any way--the first card is support for Israel, the special relationship with this aggressor state in this highly explosive region, which has existed since Israel was founded as a state 30 years ago, and which no American president can simply throw overboard in view of the Zionist lobby, or even wants to.

The second card is Arab reaction, on which the United States is dependent more than ever, and with which it couples quite specific strategic plans. It is not only the Arab states' oil which the U.S. economy needs, even if it does play a large role. The largest capitalist country continues to receive 40 percent of its oil requirements from this region--half of this from Saudi Arabia alone. And this situation will continue for some time. More is involved here. In a commentary today the SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG writes--and here it hits the nail on the head--"When the wound which has been inflicted on the special relationship with Israel has healed up, Washington hopes there will be the realization that common interests exist between Israel and the Saudis vis-a-vis the Soviet penetration of the region,

"and also vis-a-vis the more extreme elements among the Palestinians and among the Arab states such as Iraq." Translated, this means a coalition against the progressive forces in this region and against their alliance with the progressive forces of the world, in particular with the Soviet Union.

And in actual fact the recent Israeli aggression against southern Lebanon and the cooperation of the Lebanese right-wing forces with the invaders have already demonstrated this aim quite clearly; the smashing of the resistance put up by the expelled Palestinian Arabs and the bringing together of all reactionary forces in the region to form an anti-Soviet, pro-American bloc which will secure the oil for all time; which will squeeze in a large strategic set of pincers the young states in the Orient, Asia and Africa which might be thinking of embarking upon a socialist path; which will control the important routes there--the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf--and prevent all progress.

A commentator in the Soviet NEW TIMES noted recently that NATO would thus get a large boost. And the opportunity would be created for Israel to continue its subjugation of the Arab countries in the economic sector, to fully utilize the advantages arising from combining Israeli technology and knowhow with Arab raw materials. In these far-ranging plans Egypt and Saudi Arabia hold key positions. This is the reason, then, for the aircraft deliveries to them as well.

And as far as the Israeli lobby is concerned, its cohesion began crumbling away some time ago, when influential members started taking increasing exception in public to the hard-headed policy of land grabbing pursued by the present prime minister, Begin and to his well-nigh religiously fanatical rejection of coming closer to a peace a la United States through a few concessions as something which greatly upsets the larger circles of the rich brother overseas. To this extent Washington perhaps wanted to teach him a lesson through the decision to supply aircraft to two Arab states, and perhaps to strengthen those forces in Israel which would dance better to the American tune.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

APRIL 1978 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Apr 78 p 4

[Helmut Caspar review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 33 No 4, Apr 78, signed to press 9 Mar 78, pp 337-448: "Ideas and Creativity Are Challenged." Translations and/or summaries of the articles by the authors referred to below as well as by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] "Labor productivity in the final analysis is the most important and is crucial for the victory of the new social order." Under this motto, quoted from V. I. Lenin's "The Great Initiative" (1919), EINHEIT in its "theme" rubric takes a position on topical problems of our economic policy--from the unity of economic and social policy as expressed in the main task to the acceleration of scientific-technical progress all the way to socialist competition and economic propaganda.

Prof Dr Wolfgang Heinrichs and Prof Dr Helmut Koziolk, among other things, examine the factors responsible for increasing labor productivity and the role played there by initiative and by the sense of responsibility and the willingness for achievements on the part of the working people. "Knowledge and creativity, the wealth of ideas and the gift of inventiveness of the working people are challenged. In the work, rich in initiative, of the best collectives, the innovators, inventors and researchers lies the crux for further advancing the process of production intensification and for increasing labor productivity.

That idea is picked up by Dr Robert Kunze of the VEB Machine Building and Instrument Making, Grimma--Chemical Plant Construction Combine. He shows by instructive examples how that combine is solving the five-year plan tasks through rationalization and intensification. The key to success lies in using the most modern technologies while perfecting the organization of production.

Some other articles in the April issue are devoted to the humanism in the socialist planned economy, questions of socialist literary criticism and the struggle of African peoples against the colonialist-racists regimes in the south of Africa.

5885

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

OBJECTIVES OF INTENSIFIED ECONOMIC PROPAGANDA EXPLAINED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 68, 7 Apr 78 p 3

[Report from Berlin: "SED Wants to Intensify Economic Propaganda." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article referred to below follows this commentary]

[Text] The SED, as the theoretical party organ EINHEIT has announced, wants to intensify economic propaganda in all party units and enterprises. Thereby "the working people's energy and initiative" are to be motivated so that the targets posed by East Berlin economic management be reached. That meant in particular, for example, that high-grade work be done in the work collectives and by the individual workers, great work discipline become the norm and progress be made in the saving of material and energy. That should include intolerance toward any kind of sloppiness in the enterprise as much as a critical analysis of any possibly existing shortcomings such as an inadequate application of material consumption norms, premature quitting on the job, lack of attention to order and security, and passing the buck.

As another objective for the propaganda campaign the SED journal referred to the defense of the socialist planned economy against any criticism. The "apologists of monopoly capital" sought in every way to slander the GDR economic system and raise doubts about its being in the condition to reach the growth targets it desired. That should have to be countered resolutely.

SED Journal's Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 33 No 4, Apr 78 signed to press 9 Mar 78 pp 370-376

[Article by Dr Heinz Puder, deputy department chief, SED Central Committee: "Methods of Effective Economic Propaganda"]

[Text] Which aims does our party pursue with its economic propaganda? Organizing the substance and selecting the

right forms in conformity with the concrete requirements and with consideration to the field in which the economic propaganda is to be used as conditions or factors for its effectiveness. Experiences in effective economic propaganda, its management and organization. The ultimate criterion for the effectiveness of economic propaganda is how intensification is moved ahead and the main task is brought to realization.

The working people's struggle and initiative on all production and management levels and a deep penetration into the interconnections of economic activities are prerequisite to focusing the GDR economy, in the interest of further raising the people's material and intellectual-cultural standard of living, fully and completely on our intensification, our country's chief course in economic development, and to pushing ahead resolutely in our rationalization. The economy is our main battleground. Here the most important decisions are made for the further strengthening of our socialist fatherland, for the elbow-room of our social policy.

All the more necessary it has been and still is to explain to the millions of working people in our country, particularly to the party members and candidates and all cadres, the size and scope of the demanding tasks in the implementation of the five-year plan, and to shape still further their personal responsibility for a great increase in performance and for raising the quality and effectiveness of socialist production, so that the main task be fulfilled. Through the progressive socialization of the productive forces the economic conditions are becoming ever more diversified and intensive. With it, individual responsibility for society at large is increased. All the more important it becomes for one to know how to derive his actions and conduct from the vantage point of overall social and economic requirements. An excellent basis for effective ideological work in this sense is found in Comrade Honecker's speech to the kreis first secretaries.

It may be said that, entirely in the sense of greater individual responsibility for a continuing and consistent implementation of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy, a new stage began after the Ninth SED Congress by organizing the economic education of the cadres and party members and spreading economic knowledge among the working people. The party organizations have done a great deal in recent years in studying and explaining the ninth party congress resolutions, including the party's economic policy.

The 25 January 1978 SED Central Committee secretariat resolution on the curricula for the 1978/79 study year circles and seminars emphasizes that this study year is expected to make an important contribution to improving the communists' economic training and education. The theoretical knowledge is to be reinforced about the deliberate use which must be made of the economic laws of socialism through the SED's economic and social policy on the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR. The party study year must effectively support the solution of the task of fully focusing our country's economy on intensification, rigorously pushing ahead with rationalization and accelerating scientific-technical progress.

The Target and Content of Economic Propaganda

Economic propaganda has become increasingly comprehensive and systematic in recent years, various forms and methods have been used and rich experiences were gathered. It is meant to insure, first, systematic information about economic policy tasks and problems and, second, provide thorough economic education. It is of increasing importance for all working people to penetrate into the scientific principles of economic policy and to comprehend the economic inevitabilities and apply them on their jobs. Third, economic propaganda is to have an educational function, is to foster a socialist attitude toward work and social property, and is to develop the working people's willingness and ability in properly handling industrial and state tasks.

The effectiveness of economic propaganda is found in that it motivates the working people's energy and initiative for successfully solving the tasks of attaining a high speed of development in socialist production, improving effectiveness, scientific-technical progress, the growth of labor productivity and socialist rationalization. That means in particular, for instance, that high-grade work is done in the work collectives and by the individual workers, high labor discipline becomes standard procedure, advances are made in the saving of material and energy, and greater participation is assured for the innovator movement.

Creative action, expert and highly productive work and circumspect economic management imply intolerance toward any kind of sloppiness in the enterprise. Concrete economic propaganda also includes a critical analysis of any possibly existing shortcomings such as an inadequate application of material consumption norms, premature quitting on the job, lack of attention to order and security, and passing the buck, so that reserves for solving the economic tasks may be uncovered.

Our party pays special attention to the communists' economic education. They particularly are to be benefited by it in doing exemplary work in tapping qualitative factors for economic growth. They must still better understand what the approaches are that lead to a deeper intensification, the acceleration of scientific-technical progress and the utilization of all reserves. By knowing the experiences of the best party organizations they will be in the position to develop a broad initiative for the fulfillment of the plans and counter-plans, which rely on the awareness and creativity of the working people. Training and advanced training for the cadre is to assure that they will deeply penetrate the political-theoretical content of the ninth party congress resolutions and of the concrete economic policy tasks. That mainly means that they will properly understand, and apply in their political work, the theoretical principles of those resolutions, the objective interconnections and inevitabilities of social development, as formulated especially in the works of the founders of Marxism-Leninism, and their creative application in the ninth party congress documents.

Making Effective Use of Various Forms of Economic Propaganda

At the party schools, the emphasis in the training and advanced training for the cadre in the fields of the political economy of socialism and economic policy is placed on studying the nature and requirements of the political line of the main task, on the unity of economic and social policy. Much space is given to the study of the economic laws and the advantages and values of socialism and the deliberate use made of them in our economic and social policy. All cadre must understand perfectly well that the proven course of the unity between economic and social policy leads to the full development of the working people's abilities and talents and to the development of their personality but that it at the same time also makes high demands on the working people's creativity, their sense of social responsibility, their desire for achievement, their conscious discipline, and their thrift and their intolerance toward shortcomings and abuses. In implementation of the ninth party congress resolutions, the training and advanced training for the cadre pays special attention to the tasks for deepening socialist intensification, accelerating scientific-technical progress, and tapping all qualitative factors of economic development. And special importance is being given here to a thorough discussion of the best experience the party organizations have had in implementing the five-year plan--the party's and each basic organization's campaign platform. A no less important requirement for effective economic propaganda, gaining in importance through the deepening of socialist economic integration, is to make use of the rich experiences of the CPSU and to go on and pay much attention to the propagation of Soviet innovator methods.

In the advanced training for the party secretaries of the basic organizations and in the lecture cycles the bezirk and kreis headquarters schedule for executive cadre, the subjects dealing with the party's economic policy play the central role. Topics dealt with during the first months of the current year, for instance, were the tasks for the further development and perfection of the material-technical base of the economy moving toward intensification and the tasks the party organizations have in accelerating scientific-technical progress as the basic prerequisite for the further implementation of the main task. The educational institutions of bezirk and kreis headquarters have sponsored lecture cycles, theoretical seminars, problem discussions with economic functionaries and lecturers and other events for training those propaganda cadre who are running the seminars for the study of political economy or economic policy within the party study year or who make appearances as lecturers or topic speakers in the kreises and basic organizations. For instance, within the lecture cycle of Gera Bezirk headquarters, 190 executive cadre of the bezirk, in conformity with the subjects assigned by the Central Committee secretariat, are mainly studying economic policy problems. Seminars always go with the lectures. They are run by the secretaries of bezirk headquarters. That assures a sound theoretical and task-related treatment of the subjects. And then the kreises also sponsor lectures for the executive cadre.

Exchange of experiences, sponsored by the training facility of bezirk headquarters in cooperation with the economic policy and agricultural policy departments, is found to be an effective form of task-related and practically efficient economic propaganda. Those events mainly aim at providing those executive cadre of the enterprises and combines who are responsible for the management of economic processes with the best experiences one has had. Similar in importance are the differentiated bezirk party activists' conferences, which Gera Bezirk headquarters is holding with the party activists in the enterprises and combines, plant directors, propagandists and mass organization functionaries.

Much as the intensification conferences that were held in the fourth quarter of 1977 in all the enterprises of the bezirk, these differentiated bezirk party activists' conferences are found more and more to be an effective party leadership method in the struggle for solving the economic tasks, as forms of purposeful economic cadre training, and in guiding the propagandists in providing concrete economic propaganda, which is reflected by the working people's creative activities in the enterprises and cooperatives.

It becomes clearer all the time that the effectiveness of these lessons, seminars and discussions mainly depends on how well the lecturers combine the lessons from the founders of Marxism-Leninism with the most up-to-date economic insights, the party decisions and the best experiences of the party organizations and the working people in the solution of the economic tasks. Important here is that one works out the ideological aspects of the economic tasks, the issue that must be taken with obstructing views, the determination of concrete conclusions to be drawn for one's own work, and the adoption of new initiatives that should be generalized.

Also within the differentiated system of the party study year the study of the theoretical principles of the party's economic and social policy and the tasks for the practical realization are of decisive importance. The fact is that in all party study year circles and seminars important problems of political economy and economic policy are treated. It has been found useful that Comrade Erich Honecker's Central Committee report to the ninth party congress was thoroughly studied in all circles and seminars, along a unified curriculum, in the first year after the ninth party congress. It helped the participants in understanding the general line of the ninth party congress in its basic context and in properly correlating the additional concrete historic presentations on economic policy. The 1977/78 party study year now started a study of several years in the various circles and seminars. Among the most important forms is the seminar for the study of basic problems in the development of the GDR economy and of socialist economic integration.

It met with the need and desire of many party members to provide them with better opportunities for getting well versed in the economics of the developed socialist society by means of cycles lasting several years. While in the current study year the attendants mainly deal with the principles of economics in the developed socialist society, they will next time familiarize themselves

thoroughly with the theoretical principles for the intensification of social production. Above all they should deeply penetrate into the tasks for enforcing the priorities in production intensification, especially the socialist rationalization and the requirements for scientific-technical progress.

The same end is served by the 1978/79 study year circles of the FDJ on the basic matters of the political economy of socialism and the specific tasks of the FDJ. The schools of socialist labor also deal with basic economic policy matters. All these more long-range and systematically structured forms of study are intended to exercise an active influence on the solution of the practical economic tasks and be closely combined with the live labor of the party organizations and working people. The activity of the lecturer groups is of great importance to the political economy in the economic mass propaganda of the bezirk and kreis headquarters. These comrades are used preferentially for large-scale propaganda events, for training party secretaries and members of party headquarters as well as party study year propagandists.

One series of events in Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk for propagandists dealing with the basic issues of intensification, of rationalization and the development of science and technology in the enterprises of the bezirk deserves special attention in connection with the training in the fields of the political economy and economic policy. It is using for its slogan "Propagandists are asking--we give the answers." Here too the application of the knowledge that has been acquired to everyday action has become the criterion for propaganda effectiveness. Thus the initiative in the Fritz-Heckert Plant in Karl-Marx-Stadt is a success which also testifies to the effectiveness of economic propaganda. It stands under the slogan "High achievements--good quality, every day according to the experiences of the best."

The horizontal boring machine collective has fulfilled and exceeded its 1977 competition target of raising its labor productivity by 15 percent above that of 1976. Their 1978 task is to achieve an above average growth rate in industrial commodity production of 15.9 percent by less manpower than in 1977. Wolfgang Block--union shop steward in the horizontal boring machine collective--explained their target meant reducing the costs for rejects and extra work in relation to the planned value for 1978 by another 30 percent and bringing down the faulty pieces from an average 4 to 5 percent in 1977 to less than 2 percent in 1978. Party and plant managements consistently focus on further expanding the example of the horizontal boring machine workers to include all basic production workers of the parent enterprise. It means gaining another 800 workers to join in this initiative in 1978 so as to achieve an average performance increase of from 15 to 20 percent.

The "cabinet of the best experiences," which functions as consultation base for the collectives of the enterprise and for other enterprise collectives, popularizes these initiatives and objectives in broad and vivid forms. Bezirk headquarters furthermore propagates these initiatives in its FREIE PRESSE through a "catalog for arguments" and a targeted exchange of experiences.

In support of the economic propaganda in the work collectives, the lecturers group of Gera Bezirk headquarters has prepared a set of 16 lectures in which the economic and social policy of the ninth party congress and the tasks of the bezirk, its kreises and its basic organizations are presented as belonging closely together. The emphasis is placed on the matters of scientific-technical progress, the effective use of basic assets, the materials economy and socialist intensification of agriculture. To broadly submit and apply the experiences of the best workers, extensive economic agitprop is being developed in the consultation bases of the enterprises and cooperatives in Gera Bezirk.

Production consultations and brigade meetings play a great role in the manners in which enterprises instruct in economic knowledge and information. Many working people desire live talks in which the economic functionaries answer the workers' questions. Propaganda must be intelligible and relevant to life and operations. It must be responsive to the working people's questions and teach the kind of knowledge that has to do with the work and with concrete tasks.

More is expected of economic mass propaganda than simply conveying economic coefficients and facts. Rather, by means of facts and figures it should illuminate economic and overall social interconnections and magnitudes. For instance, economic propaganda has the important job of making the working people aware of as weighty an economic matter as that they at the present time in our republic produce in a single working hour a value of over M 100 million and that this value will have grown to approximately M 130 million by 1980. On that, on how in every hour, even in every minute, our labor time is used, thus largely depend the profit and loss for our entire society and, hence, ultimately for every individual worker. This underscores the great political-ideological responsibility everyone has. For in all areas of our economy we must resolutely advocate great socialist discipline, the reduction of idling periods, shutoffs and delays and insure, on the basis of well planned production organization, high and continuous capacity output per day. Here especially it has been found useful to employ as means and forms of economic propaganda slides, economic cabinets, posters, exhibits and economic performance comparisons with domestic and foreign enterprises and products.

Convincingly Showing the Superiority of the Socialist Economy!

Which are the essential experiences of economic propaganda we should take note of particularly? Time and again our experience is confirmed that a close connection exists between understanding the fundamental economic processes and political awareness, the formation and consolidation of the working people's basic political convictions. If therefore it is meant to enable people to understand social interconnections and gain conscious mastery over them, economic propaganda will always have to explain the unity of politics, economics and ideology and the ideological content of economic policy. Never must it be seen, or handled, as a one-sided technical, or even "apolitical," education. Our party desires to develop further, through economic propaganda, the working people's Marxist-Leninist world-outlook, so that it becomes the essential component in training. An impressive example for it is how Berlin

Bezirk headquarters conducted its agitprop through the competition initiative "Each supplies each with quality--a demand for all." Through a complex employment of all means, forms and methods of ideological work for propagating and generalizing that initiative a correspondingly broad effect and a high economic benefit were achieved. Important was first the correct choice of this crucial link in the chain for mobilizing the working people toward productivity and efficiency improvements. As always, this movement has been conducted in political terms in order to mold the working people's modes of thought and conduct in the sense of this initiative. It was not principally a matter of propagating technical details, but it was the kind of political-ideological work that aimed at the development of the working people's socialist consciousness and would produce the kind of modes of thought and conduct that are in line with today's economic policy criteria.

All forms and methods of ideological work are being used for that. It was served by an exchange of experiences between the bezirk headquarters secretariat and the working people in the capital, membership meetings of the party organizations, full meetings of union shop stewards and intensification conferences. Strong impulses came from contributions of BERLINER ZEITUNG, the plant papers and the concretely and educationally conducted discussions posted in the wall newspapers in the enterprise party organizations, where among the topics that were explained and discussed were these: "What actually does it mean to think of the whole?" "As if the apartment were only for myself," "Humdrum work gets you no 'Q,'" "Joint responsibility for high-grade supplies," and "Each recommendation from workers is precious."

At the second conference of the best workers in the GDR capital of Berlin, Comrade Ursula Tews, who works in the VEB (state-enterprise) combine of NARVA, the Berlin electric bulb factory, explained that through the discussion of the question of how they could manufacture a better grade of products and could do it more efficiently a great number of controllable methods and initiatives were born and broadly applied in the enterprise, which led to successes in socialist competition. The additional goods they produced amounted to a value of M 320,000.

Our enemies realize well enough that there is an ever growing evidence for the superiority of our socialist planned economy over the so-called market economy of the monopolies. That superiority results, far from last, from the knowledge the working people have about the economic interconnections, laws and target of the socialist economy and, based on that, the increasing awareness of their actions.

That is why the apologists of monopoly capital seek in every way to slander the socialist planned economy and raise uncertainty and doubt too about its being in the condition, through the development of our capacities, to go on and purposefully implement the main task. We shall succeed all the better in resolutely opposing the enemy's ideological diversion, the more cogently our propagandists, pointing to the successes in the implementation of our economic and social policy, disclose its basic class content.

The acceleration of the scientific-technical progress in socialism and the broad application of socialist rationalization are the alternative to the capitalist abuse of science and technology. Capitalist rationalization is a scourge for "disciplining" the workers, for intensifying the exploitation of the workers class! The profound class character and the party-minded militancy of the Marxist political economy are what economic propaganda must bring out completely.

The dispensation of economic knowledge is effective mainly when it is organically embedded in the reproduction process and tied in with the collectives' competition obligations and their operational tasks. Many party organizations therefore seek to explain the economic tasks and interconnections by making direct references within the work collectives, by using concrete experiences and examples, by bringing economic propaganda still closer to life.

As experience has taught, economic knowledge is effectively disseminated wherever the working people feel it helps them in solving their own tasks. Time and again the working people's economic activities in the economy, such as their participation in the plan discussion, turn out to be an important stimulus for acquiring economic knowledge. For that reason the executive cadre should increase political discussions in the work collective and use the production conferences and the reports they give to the working people, their budget analysis and other forms of work, for deepening the working people's knowledge in economics.

Economic training is an important element of party work toward developing the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook among all the people. The great work the party organizations are doing in providing their members with economic training also lends economic mass propaganda and agitation important impulses. Based on the Politburo resolution on the "further tasks in the party's political mass activity," many party organizations, state and economic organs, social organizations and propagandists have taken new steps toward disseminating economic knowledge among all working people. Right now these activities are intimately connected with the socialist competition in preparation of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. Experiences have made clear that the successful policy of the eight and ninth party congresses have decisively contributed to producing a great willingness for studying the party's economic policy and its scientific principles. Knowledge in economics helps the working people in finding better solutions for their production tasks, in gaining deeper insights into the economic life of the enterprises, and in more clearly understanding the interconnections between their own labor and the development of the economy and the society. Understood and applied that way, economic propaganda becomes a creative guideline for action for the working people.

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CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

NEED FOR CONTROVERSY IN LITERARY CRITICISM DISCUSSED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 68, 7 Apr 78 'iwe-kultur' supplement p 3

[Report from Berlin: "GDR Literary Critics Ponder Their Self-Awareness."
Translations of the articles by East Berlin writers Annemarie Auer and Klaus Jarmatz, referred to below, follow this commentary]

[Text] The SED Politburo resolution on the "Tasks of Literary and Art Criticism" and the approaching writers congress in East Berlin evidently have induced the literary critics in the GDR to ponder their self-awareness. Annemarie Auer, who above all recently came out with a polemic against Christa Wolf, has asked the question, for instance, in the East-BERLINER ZEITUNG, "what criticism is all about." A rampant "pampering of authors" had come into use which impeded not only criticism but, above all, literary development on the whole and, thus also, the authors' self-awareness. No attentive elucidation there could be, however, of a work without a resolute evaluation of it. Yet as not all praise was fulsome praise, a serious reproof likewise should "not necessarily be denounced as slanderous." The "social presuppositions" is what mattered in every case. In any event, one should have to do away with the "proximity of silence," the fear of passing judgment. Merely submissive acceptance was not the business of criticism. The author defined the essential task of literary criticism as providing an esthetic-ideological orientation. Its sphere of responsibility was the society's state of consciousness in so far as it crystallized in dealing with the arts. And if in GDR literature more and more abstract moralizing or some idyllic miniaturizing and a lack of commitment led to a partial abandoning of the class position, a critic should not shy away from "naming without affectation" what he found.

Much like Annemarie Auer, Klaus Jarmatz stated in the SED journal EINHEIT that reflexion on the partly contradictory development of GDR literature was "still in its infancy." The differentiation process going on within literature also demanded differentiation within criticism. It was just as necessary to have a public discussion of the views presented about literature as about literature itself. Fostering debate in literary criticism was indispensable if it were to participate in the submission of the literary discoveries.

Ideology Stressed in Literary Criticism (I)

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 4 Apr 78 p 6

[First installment of article by Annemarie Auer: "In Preparation for the Eighth GDR Writers Congress: Literary and Art Criticism Is Ideological Work--Notes on a Resolution"]

[Text] In preparation of the Eighth GDR Writers Congress, Annemarie Auer in two installments expresses her thoughts on the SED Central Committee Politburo resolution on the "Tasks of Literary and Art Criticism." The text of the resolution itself was published in the journal SONNTAG, No 48, 1977.

Literature, however much it stems from an individual pen, is a public matter. Every significant work brings up for discussion what had not been seen or recognized before. Thus it is received with gratitude, even with relief, but also with rejection. Literary and art criticism must enter into these processes. A party resolution calls attention to it. And a visit from Moscow writers, just at the right time, also has helped our critics in becoming aware of their present requirement.

The SED Central Committee Politburo is emphatically pointing to the "tasks of literary and art criticism" in the developed socialist society. The criteria for evaluation are the same that have been used by the socialist critics from the start. What, however, are the circumstances of their activity, or what should they be, if they are to satisfy the requirements of today?

By-product and Precedents

We have long been under the disadvantage that reviewing normally only is a by-product for someone who otherwise has another science occupation that demands all he has. An extensive and steady study of literary production, prerequisite to critical activity, thereby becomes possible only in exceptional cases. Our literary criticism works and is organized primarily in relation to precedents and chief oeuvres. Authors rightly complain about lack of attention, overall assessment and continuity in the evaluation of their works.

The grievance goes deeper than that, however. Authors and critics are sensitive in their reactions to each other. The humility needed for having that contradictory partnership prosper a critic may acquire from the poets' repeated declaration that he does not understand art at all. That is what Erwin Strittmatter is putting to us when he makes a graduate, "endowed with research spirit and analytic strength," ask the most asinine questions. Irmtraud Morgner likewise decided recently: "The creative event lies in the dark." There then, with all respect, we probably have to leave it. It is all the more urgent to ask oneself what criticism is all about then. Does it mainly require "personalities of critics?" In any event, the question whether there could be geniuses among critics is answered in the negative outright by a most astute

authority--Peter Hacks: "Ingenious interjections may come from a critic, and he may also pick up some minor truth or other. But if he were a genius, he would not be a critic. One who has the stuff to make shoes, will become a shoemaker, after all, and not someone who writes book reviews about shoes." Direct contact with life comes first; it is of an all-embracing nature.

With this in mind, I like to refer to the visit by a Soviet writers delegation during the "Moscow Days in Berlin." There was no lack of self-assurance in the chief of the delegation, Prof Dr Felix Kuznetsov, a prominent critic. Since the days of the revolutionary democrats in the 19th century, the critic, after all, has held an incomparably more elevated and respected status within overall Russian-Soviet literature than he has, despite Lessing, within so discontinuous a literature as the German.

Our Soviet friends were able to tell us that among them too a rampant "pampering of authors" had come into use which impeded not only criticism but, above all, literary development on the whole and, thus also, the authors' self-awareness.

No attentive elucidation of a work, that is to say, its placement within the ongoing sociocultural process included, can dispense with a resolute evaluation of it. While not all praise is fulsome praise, however--for it may well take courage and character to advocate something new that is uncomfortable--a reproof, even a serious one, must not necessarily be denounced as slanderous. The social presuppositions, therein lies entirely what matters.

Our cultural life is known to have gained much in color and freedom of movement in the '70's. New contents, themes and modes of presentation have come to the fore in our socialist-realist art. According to what was said at the eighth and ninth party congresses, there is no authority that would want to cancel this growth in the concreteness of subjects and in the variety of forms. Under conditions so hospitable to production, a critical judgment is all the more mandatory and must not evade its responsibility to the advancement of literature.

Toward Productive Self-Awareness

Criticism of criticism may then also not be a useless enterprise. Yet for literary criticism there is only one way for productive self-awareness. It must inform itself about the current status of the crucial vital questions of society; otherwise it would miss the ideological substance in the ideas of new works.

The party resolution, for one thing, urges us to look critically at the organizational premises for critical activities. And it secondly demands that critics more carefully exercise their responsibilities in the developed socialist society.

With all the respect for everything creative--and this is the gain that counts--we must yet do away with the prolixity of silence, the fear of passing judgment. Merely submissive acceptance is not the business of criticism. Literature and

art criticism is ideological work. Literature propaganda may well have its justification, but the essential task lies in providing an esthetic-ideological orientation. Its sphere of responsibility is the society's state of consciousness in so far as it crystallizes in dealing with the arts.

Ideology Stressed in Literary Criticism (II)

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 5 Apr 78 p 6

[Second and final installment of article by Annemarie Auer: "In Preparation for the Eighth GDR Writers Congress: Literary and Art Criticism Is Ideological Work--Notes on a Resolution"]

[Text] Let us respect the views of the poets that ultimately the work of art remains outside the range of critical analyses. It gave me pleasure to find a remark in the essays of the contemporary dramatist Peter Hacks--in his "Massgaben der Kunst" (Criteria of Art)--that the critic's business was not the work of art but the "status of public opinion." That is indeed what his influence should have a bearing on as far as dealing with the arts is concerned. And that precisely also is the ideological-political point of departure in the resolution on criticism. That, to be sure, calls for being wide awake to our reality and for a sound knowledge of literature, both of which will assure generosity and breadth in making comparisons.

After all, for one thing, the critic deals with the realism of the art which the work presents through its esthetic structure. He must be able to appreciate the increment in esthetic capacity for the totality of the field of art concerned that the particular work has achieved. And secondly, he has to abide by reality, where the writer, the critic and the reader are all equally at home. The author ultimately obtains his work, as much as the critic obtains his criteria for judging, from the concretely and historically determined living environment, which all is to benefit his work. All the better if something "helpful" comes out of it for the artist too. Helping, however, implies two: one who can help and one who is inclined to letting himself be helped. A critic can hurt, but new poetry can hurt too, by attacking previously common modes of thinking and feeling.

The poetic has to maintain its position not only within the class struggle; it is its nature that it finds itself always in a self-defense position. "Defense of poetry," as Johannes R. Becher thought of it, therefore also defines criticism that is responsibly aware of its basic tasks. They remain allies, even when a critic has a different idea from the one who created the work of where the work is socially situated.

Illuminating the Inner World of Men

What does the development of public opinion need, we asked Felix Kuznetsov, in the current period of most intensive ideological confrontation? His essay on the "Literature of Mature Socialism" offers an answer with which we

also are familiar: Consciousness of history alone, which implies the party-mindedness of the class standpoint, can illuminate for us the decisive conflicts of an era. But then he said something that concerns us too because in our country the majority of the population consists of generations that have already grown up under socialism, and this is what he said: there is a great need for illuminating the inner world of men, their motivation, objectives and ethical norms, for they do run into questions of this kind, after all, in their personal lives and in their work and social contacts all the time. Literary criticism has to be prepared that such questions concerning the personal guidance ideas for men and their value orientation are increasing in importance and weight in the society of mature socialism, wherefore they are gaining a complete legitimacy as literary subjects too.

Dostoevski's moral problems are gaining a renewed interest in the Soviet Union right now. An analogous need expresses itself in our country in that we are giving preference to those Soviet authors who are dealing with the utmost intensification of conflict situations within an individual, Gelman, for instance, or Tendryakov, Rasputin, Daniel Granin particularly in his latests books. The attractiveness and internal timeliness of the new publications by our new authors' generation can be explained by their showing the same trend of questions.

When a work raises questions it provokes answers from the reader. Those, the critic has to take into account too. When contradictions are growing in reality and coping with them rationally and emotionally becomes more difficult, evasion can result and even retrogression. In socialist literature, more and more abstract moralizing or some idyllic miniaturizing and a lack of commitment to the subjects can lead to a partial abandoning of the class position. Then the critic must not shy away from naming without affectation what he found, even if that is not going to make the authors like him better.

Resuming the Basic Theme

The issue of ego-identity is an all-inclusive value question. Critical late bourgeois literature is asking that question from the point of alienation, within which it is stuck. Socialist poetry asks it in the sense of a productive and morally oriented exchange between the individuals and the society in which they live. In that sense even 20 years ago the then young generation found itself pushed toward confrontation with itself, toward defining the position of its persona. For their pitiless liquidation of fascism and the painful detonation of the old persona, undergone by poets like Dieter Noll, Franz Fuehmann and others at that time of writing, the common term "change" is all too limp. The relentlessness with which they proceeded acquired a status of national representation for their works. It is not by chance, therefore, that the same generation, mostly even the same authors, is picking up the same basic theme once again today, with greater maturity, to be sure, and therefore with a much wider external and internal range. The vehemence of today's class struggle and of the international peace efforts against imperialism compels this renewed confrontation. And so we find this dialectic

between the "I" and the "world" presented on an international scale and with full political authority in some recently published books such as Hermann Kant's "Aufenthalt" (Stay) or Ruth Werner's "Sonya's Report."

The Critic Must Know the Difference

What has there been done about historical themes furnishes the measure for treating contemporary themes all the more. Much can be a contribution here in many ways, yet the critic must know the difference and must have the courage to differentiate. Familiar with the topical questions of our lives, he serves those works when he serves the advancement in the molding of public opinion. With it, by lucky chance, he may also serve the forever moveable creative self-awareness of the arts and the artists.

Marxist Art Scholar's Discussion

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[Article by Prof Dr Klaus Jarmatz, research program head, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Culture and Art Studies, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; chairman, aktiv for literary criticism, GDR Writers Association: "Literary Criticism and Literary Development"]

[Text] The profound changes associated with the shaping of the developed socialist society lead to new demands on literature. At the same time, scientific-technical development has placed on the agenda new questions about the possible forms of human existence. Not last, the ideological class conflict between socialism and imperialism also has had a sharp effect on the field of literature and literary criticism. The party is steadily orienting toward a literary criticism that is intelligible, encouraging and firm in ideological principles.

The socialist revolution also has led in the GDR to far-reaching social changes, not last in the relations between the arts and society. In socialism art enjoys an important and respected public place. The deep gap between the arts and the lives of the working people in capitalism is surmounted in a historic process of development in which the arts more and more deeply intertwine with the interests of the people and the working people's interest also is directed more and more at their lives' artistic culture. A good feeding ground is generated for artistic culture. All these conditions, however, do not spontaneously, out of themselves, bring about a higher art development or a broadening of its effects. Rather, this is a development that goes through a complicated and extremely dynamic process which requires the conscious and purposeful leadership by the working class party. Important prerequisites for it have repeatedly been mentioned in recent years, especially since the eighth party congress. Among them are the confident cooperation between the artists and the party, the linkage between cautious sensitivity and firmness in ideological principles and conviction, and the full development of the specific function of art.

Within these processes, literary and art criticism can and shall be an important orientation tool in both directions, for the public and for the artists. A criticism appropriate to its tasks reflects the social understanding of art achieved and facilitates the public exchange of ideas about the artistically realized values of socialism and the critical confrontation with manifestations opposing them. In socialism, literary and art criticism becomes an agency of spiritual communication that gains a considerable place value within the overall framework of the intellectual-cultural communication in this society. That alone is enough reason for our party to have paid appropriate attention to this factor, as expressed in the recent SED Central Committee Politburo resolution on literary and art criticism.

That resolution is a strand of a whole network of activities in cultural and art policy and an expression of continuity in our art policy. Especially since the eighth party congress our party has let itself be guided purposefully by the Leninist principles for the cooperation with the artists and has, with great emphasis, taken account of the specific and irreplaceable contributions the arts can make to the shaping of developed socialism. Those aspects have found expression in the SED Program which the eighth party congress adopted. The demand socialism makes for an art that is distinguished by high esthetic culture, by its party-minded solidarity with the GDR and the socialist society, and by its implacability to the threats coming from the imperialist world is formulated in the program. "The party advocates the deepening of the socialist content of ideas in the arts. It fosters the search for artistic discoveries which contribute to the enrichment of socialist art and social reality. Artistic development requires an atmosphere marked by high ideal, moral and esthetic demands on the creators of art, an understanding attitude toward the artists, and by the promotion of all talents." The party program explicitly assigns to literary and art criticism the task of "fostering these processes sensitively and firm in principle."¹

The resolution on literary and art criticism is embedded in such complex contexts of our party's overall policy and strategy. It is important to take stock of the objective processes in our historic development and to gain an accurate picture also about those processes which literary criticism has to foster sensitively and firm in principle. To that end, criticism has to define historically where it stands itself.

Disputatious Dialog

The history of socialist realism makes it possible to see that there has by no means always been a nonantagonistic conformity between the development of socialist realism in literature and the formulation of socialist positions in literary criticism. Particularly at times when art was seeking new and more advanced sights, it would enter a dialog with criticism that was more or less disputatious.

But debate also ensued within criticism. That was true of the proletarian-revolutionary phase as of the time of the antifascist struggle and the various stages of the revolutionary process after 1945. Johannes R. Becher and Bertolt Brecht in the '30's, for instance, while elaborating their conception of a great realistic literature, also announced critical reservations to criticism.

In a 1936 lecture entitled "From the world of the poem," intended for the plenary session of the Soviet Writers Association about problems of socialist lyrical poetry, Johannes R. Becher complained about deficiencies in criticism. He thought that criticism, "in admirable boldness," stopped at the very point "where the poem properly begins. The poetic substance remains untouched by it." He thought he could identify seven different patterns in a book review that entailed the entire critical scheme: (1) Verbose information that a new book was published; (2) listing of the titles of the poems; (3) general content; (4) a special, descriptive, discussion of the content; (5) the formula: "especially successful . . . less successful"; (6) "general ideological praise or reproof"; and (7) "stroking," "in hopeful expectation."²

There is no gainsaying that this stereotypic recipe (or some other recipe like it) is tenacious of life and lasts. Becher at the time provided no background for this hackneyed scheme of literary criticism. He was right in stating that "such a eulogy" was of interest to "the ('highly gifted' or 'highly poetic') authors only as an extra jockstrap of course." He did not want advertising from criticism; he wanted criticism "through which someone speaks who knows what he is talking about, who loves poems and who lives with them, even apart from his criticism of them." "The specifically poetic character" of a poem should be accessible, not closed, to the critic.³

These deliberations by Becher of from more than 40 years ago contain quite a lot we may take to heart today. Brecht too, in his remarks about "realistic criticism" of the late '30's, aimed at truly disclosing, first and foremost, what the concern and special feature of a work of art are. He opposed naturalistic viewpoints in criticism, especially criticism accusing him that he had not written in the realistic vein because "known realistic authors" had written in a different vein. He had to be afraid, rightly so, that a criticism that wanted to set definite rules for realistic writing, that prescribed what a fable was to look like, how a character should be described, how many conflicts a work was allowed to have, and so forth, would not care at all about a realistic depiction of reality but would rather subordinate reality to certain narrative or presentational forms.⁴ And so he fought against formalism in criticism, and that too is instructive for us.

The historical premises were different from what they are today at the time that Becher and Brecht told the critics what they expected of them. It is of course not possible to deduce from those remarks what literary criticism truly achieved at that time. Neither can we judge a period by the way it sees itself, nor can literary events be adequately explained from how they appear in their own light. It was rather that exactly during the difficult years of the antifascist struggle and the antifascist exile sound literary

criticism developed. Among those who recognized that was Maxim Vallentin in the spring of 1944 in a conference of creators of culture with the then chairman of the KPD, Wilhelm Pieck. Vallentin made the point the communists and antifascists were by no means coming home with empty hands with regard to literature and literary criticism but were bringing important things along.

Becher and Brecht were making their remarks at a time when a certain re-orientation process was going on in socialist art, in the Soviet Union as well as in the conflict with German fascism. Such a dynamic process was full of contradictions and literary controversy, and the deficiency of criticism was not simply that it was taking different positions in some respects from those the authors were taking. After all, literary criticism was bound to take a position on these events, which made its capability as well as its limits stand out in the sharpest relief especially during such "phases of change in esthetics." To that extent then we find such phases instructive. It became evident at that time that criticism could become productive only when it drew its criteria from the ability to relate art and social experience to the requirements of the era.

Today we have been able to note in the GDR for some time how the literature in our country is seeking a self-awareness that conforms with social conditions. That is of course not merely a process coming out of the internal and relatively germane inevitabilities of literature per se--even if many a contribution to the discussion makes the impression as if only now the discovery was being made what literature can do, in what way it is specific and so forth. The profound changes that are part and parcel of the shaping of the developed socialist society lead to new demands on literature. With it, scientific-technical development of recent years has placed on the agenda under new aspects the question about the possible forms of human existence today and tomorrow. Not last, the new situation has had an effect on the ideological class conflict between imperialism and socialism in the struggle for enforcing the policy of detente, an effect especially intense precisely in the field of literature and literary criticism. Altogether, the world in the '70's has taken on another new look, and the socialist world is facing new tasks that are by no means uncomplicated.

In many areas of public life we are seeking new and more advanced solutions. This creative atmosphere also carries over into literature, which by no means reacts in a straight line. "As our life is changed by the socialist revolution, so art also changes," is what the SED Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Erich Honecker said in his speech to the kreis first secretaries, "impressively and rich in ideas, but also full of contradictions and conflicts, always in the struggle for the realization of our socialist ideals."⁵

In such phases we are by no means dealing only with problems in contemporary literary work. We are experiencing at present that new questions are also being addressed at our legacy, the prebourgeois, the bourgeois-humanistic and the socialist legacy. In part the discussions and the debate have shifted more onto that field. But in the true sense of the word there are always the questions of our present time that are being debated.

Knowledge of Life and of Theory

Literary criticism has to face up to the new problems of our social community. It has to occupy a position derived from the knowledge of the processes of life itself as from a deep penetration into Marxist-Leninist theory. By coming to grips with processes of reality through the medium of literature, it sets orientations for the intellectual life of society.

Only under such a complex aspect--and it is the one which guides the resolution on literary and art criticism--can one derive the high place value of literary criticism in socialism. In no way is it to be confined to rendering the authors ancillary services for their literary creations nor to assisting the readers in the proper manner of reading their books. It addresses the entire public audience in conveying intellectual and ethical values needed for the further development of the socialist way of life. It wants to furnish us with points of view that can help us in shaping our socialist reality. And that precisely is the reason why it must have acquired itself the knowledge of reality as well as a high theoretical and literary level. On that basis it can then establish its affiliation with authors and readers alike. That makes literary criticism enter the theoretical and historical sciences. A critic does have to know something of the practice of the Marxist historian and of philosophy and scientific communism. Simply for the plain reason that then his criticism can raise its voice when authors and readers start exchanging thoughts about the vital problems of our society. To be able to enter such discussions, one needs knowledge, and not only knowledge about esthetic matters.

Insights into the particulars of literature are, however, also wanted. Brecht was properly annoyed with criticism when he was told he had written an account of "a certain event, transparent in all its details, comprehensible in its overall sequence, made tasty by humor and presented in a beautiful voice, yet the way the event had happened had been quite different."⁶ Someone else may protest with the same good reason when he receives recognition for a beautiful language and for suspense in his plot but then demands are raised that would rather be pertinent to an illustration than to a work of art. Only by gaining access to the characteristic features of artistic creation can criticism bring to bear what it knows of philosophy, literary history and reality. And only by being accurately informed about the state of literary receptivity the society has reached, about the readers' active role in the process of literary development, can it play a creative and stimulating role in the intellectual-cultural life of our society. And finally: Only the knowledge of the interconnections among socialist literatures in international development enables the critic to judge our literary life more deeply. Appropriating the experiences of Soviet literary criticism and comparative literary analysis is in this respect prerequisite not only to becoming familiar with the various cultures but also to the theoretical work in further shaping the socialist internationalism and patriotism in our literary criticism.

This comprehensive "catalog" I came up with here was not intended for gaging all critical utterances against it, not to turn criticism into a secretive science and intimidate all who would want to pass a public judgment in art criticism. Merely one critique could not provide such criteria in the first place. They could only come out of an aggregate of critiques. All that was to be done here was to call attention to the complexity of literary criticism.

The basic problem of the work in literary criticism is and remains of course the relation to the contemporary literary process. Even when it turns to our legacy, this turn becomes fruitful only when it establishes relevance with the present. Criticism in its entirety can appropriately be expected to know something of the developmental contradictions in contemporary literature and assists, from such knowledge, in the formation of criteria on which the dialectic of sensitivity, understanding for literary creation and firmness in ideological principles is brought to bear, and when it formulates tasks containing the possibility for the practical steps to be taken next as well as for long-term strategic objectives. Here also is involved the Leninist unity of theory and practice which is not only a practical problem but a theoretical-ideological problem as well. It must neither fall prey to some bad pragmatism, which loses sight of the overall objective, nor to some utopianism, which proceeds from premises that do not conform to the real state of affairs.

When the first resolution on problems of literary criticism was passed in 1953, one year after the Second Party Conference that resolved systematically to lay the foundations of socialism in all areas of society, the matter that was important then was to stir the attention of literary criticism, including that of the Germanic literary studies, for the then newly emerging GDR literature to begin with. All throughout the '50's one had to cope with that task. At the same time criticism and literary science had to learn all about the principles of materialist literary analysis and come to assume socialist positions themselves. By the early '60's a change had been brought about in this respect. Literary criticism and literary science were about to gain access to GDR literature. In important literary debates in the early '60's, criticism made a broad showing with its own positions. It learned more and more to represent the demands of society through its own criteria. The access to the new problems in artistic practice and the critical-theoretical analysis and historic evaluation of the truly normative achievements of GDR literature were often, however, still in their infancy.

New Requirements for Criticism

Beginning with the '60's, we noticed an increasing degree of enrichment in the substantive and formal possibilities of GDR literature, a more profound development of its character as a socialist national literature. A differentiation process took place that expanded and deepened the image of our contemporary socialist society, and our practical life in its contradictions became in various ways subject for sensual-concrete and also for imaginative presentation. The forms and modes of presentation multiplied as the contents did. More and

more genres and types of literature were tapped for the appropriation of socialist reality. Also expanded was the circle of those our literature addressed. Ever broader strata of our people were actively engaged as readers, so that today our literature can call on a general reading audience in socialist society. Our relating to the art process itself became more active and aware. Our literary legacy was to a growing extent included as artistic material in our process of presentation. And what mainly developed was an increasing development of individual points of view, of artistic positions, an unfolding of the internal artistic dialectic within those generations of authors that had entered literature only after the liberation from fascism in 1945 and had in the first period of their development leaned still more heavily on the older generation of writers in our socialist German national literature, who had matured during the antifascist struggle and have by now become our classical writers. (This process can be followed by watching the development of the so-called former Brecht disciples, for instance.)

Out of the greater individual experience in the shaping of socialist society important new works emerged. Some came from the senior authors who had made their mark even before our republic was founded and who were greatly involved in building a new culture in the GDR. And then there were those authors who had only started to write after 1945; their books were frequently confined, for a long time, to the issue they were taking with their period of youth and to their later "arrival" in socialism. This process of differentiation continued through the early '70's, when now generations of authors that had grown up under socialism emphatically started to announce what they had to say. They would be taking the existence of the GDR for granted but they would also be seeking the points from where they could themselves become effective in further shaping the society firmly established on socialist foundations.

That placed essential new demands on literary criticism. As now our literary development had become familiar, it was expected that literary criticism would perfect its methodological and theoretical tools and would, in particular, penetrate the dialectic of socialist party-mindedness, truth and artistic individuality. It counts among the principles of our criticism that deeper insights into the interrelations of socialist reality that are fundamentally new can be arrived at from the positions of socialist party-mindedness and that, indeed, essential interrelations in our social reality become accessible only from positions of socialist party-mindedness. Among these principles also is the fact that the subjective factor in literature is by no means exhausted by any individual "signature" but includes a profound affiliation with the forces that move socialist society and with socialist party-mindedness. All that must be included in the deliberations carried on by criticism about the various possibilities for discovery and insight in art and about the specific nature of its subject matter and its function. We must especially keep aware of the fact that all our discussions and processes of collective self-awareness are taking place within a sharp ideological class conflict with imperialism, in which imperialism is employing literary criticism, of all things, to a qualitatively new degree, as an instrument against socialist literatures and against socialist consciousness.

GDR literature has not only become more diversified as such in recent years, it has altogether become richer intellectually and artistically and has gained in attractiveness and in its strength of radiation. The reflexion on these processes in terms of literary criticism, which also includes the contradictory developments, is still in its infancy, however. The differentiation process within literature is calling also for differentiation within criticism. Fruitful in this regard is the orientation toward approaching literary works with appropriate sensitivity and toward accurately defining their position, and that is an orientation that was served by the eighth and ninth party congresses, the SED Program, the sixth SED Central Committee session, Comrade Honeckers' most recent speech before the kreis first secretaries, and the resolution on literary and art criticism. The SED Central Committee Politburo resolution on the "Tasks of Literary and Art Criticism" states, for example: "Literary and art criticism shall thoroughly comprehend and evaluate the content of socialist ideas in new works of art in their artistic form. Reviews and other contributions must still more carefully bring out which new works of art contribute to the consolidation of socialist convictions and modes of conduct and to the development of communist ideals and which do not. With it, greater account is to be taken of the esthetic problems in the creation of art. That presupposes looking at individual works of art within the wider context in the development of the socialist-realist creation of art governed by party-mindedness and solidarity with the people."⁷

Again I would like to return to Becher's remarks. In 1936 already he had wished for a criticism that is open to the poetic character of literature and that can therefore do without fancy loquacity. From such criticism, Becher said, "one would emerge fresh and reinvigorated, and such criticism also could loosen up the tangle of manifold tendencies and contradictions in which a poet often is enmeshed and set him free."⁸ Turning to that kind of critical procedure does in no way amounts to renouncing an analysis of contradictory factors. On the contrary, it only becomes possible through a critical-polemical analysis of these problems, through disputatious debate.

Important prerequisites and handles for the development of such literary criticism, it seems to me, have already been produced by some collective projects of literary scientists. GDR literary science has been more resolutely open-minded toward GDR literature in recent years. It has been decoding more accurately the artistic specifics in this literature. It could do it because its historic overview has become more certain. It can now resort to the 11th volume of the history of literature,⁹ which is the first to offer a comprehensive survey of the history of GDR literature. No less important for it has been the further development of theoretical basic research. Criticism has been better equipped theoretically by the collective work "On the Theory of Socialist Realism"¹⁰ and, not last, the important book entitled "Society-Literature-Reading."¹¹ Also the problems of realism were given a historic basis by the new study "Realism in the Renaissance."¹² It significantly helps in the theoretical penetration of topical problems in the appropriation of reality by literature. In criticism, GDR literature is seen more as a historic process and as a practice that is in vivid interchange with other

forms of social practice. On this basis it also became possible to elucidate the specific contribution made by the individual authors to GDR literature. A publication like "Comrades"¹³ is committed to that goal. A different approach was used by the authors of the books "Literature and Historic Consciousness"¹⁴ and "Views."¹⁵ There, and in many other new books that could not be enumerated, certain lateral or longitudinal cross-sectional aspects became of a more central concern in the investigation. If one then still takes into account the collections of essays on GDR literature and the efforts made by magazines, such as the "Beitraege zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur" (Contributions to Children's and Juvenile Literature), which have been published for many years, one has every good reason for making the claim that literary criticism is going to have in store a broad supply of views on GDR literature that are well worth discussions for the eighth writers congress.

As necessary as talking about literature is to bring about public discussion of the views expressed about literature. By such discussion alone, the personality of the critic is tested and formed, and that also improves the effect criticism can have on our literary development itself. A view on literature, if it is to be effective, must reveal a personality that knows his way around in life and literature from his own knowledge and experiences. That kind of judgment then is an individual judgment in so far as it relies on a given treasure of experience. It does not become subjectivist and fanciful, however, when it relies on criteria that indicate firmness of principle in ideological terms, criteria that are objectively established.

Fostering debate in literary criticism on the basis of such criteria is indispensable if literary criticism is expected to participate in the conveying of literary discoveries. Artistic discovery cannot rely on the pretty logic of one times one. It must prove itself in practical life. It must prevail either because or in spite of the views raised against it. The true discoveries come to prevail through disputatious intellectual communication which is directly, or indirectly, tied up with our practical social affairs, with the shaping of our socialist society and the struggle against what held sway yesterday, the world of imperialism. Literature and literary criticism do not thrive in a greenhouse. They need debate, a socialist audience and the tempest of ideological and political conflicts in the struggles of our days.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 52.
2. Johannes R. Becher, "Aus der Welt des Gedichts," INTERNATIONALE LITERATUR, No 6, 1936, quoted from Becher, "Ein Lesebuch fuer unsere Zeit" (A Reader for our Time), Aufbau-Verlag, Berlin and Weimar, 1976, p 405.
3. Ibid., pp 405-406.
4. Bertolt Brecht, "Realistische Kritik," "Ueber Lyrik," Aufbau-Verlag, Berlin and Weimar, 1964, p 73.

5. Erich Honecker, "The Party Tasks in the Further Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Resolutions," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 18/19 February 1978.
6. Bertolt Brecht, op. cit., p 73.
7. "Aufgaben der Literatur- und Kunstkritik, Beschluss des Politbueros des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," SONNTAG, No 48, 1977, p 2.
8. Johannes R. Becher, op. cit., p 406.
9. Authors' Collective led by Horst Haase, Hans Juergen Geerdts, Erich Kuehne and Walter Pallus; "Geschichte der Literatur der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik," Volk und Wissen publishing house, Berlin, 1976.
10. Authors' Collective led by Hans Koch, "Zur Theorie des sozialistischen Realismus," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1974.
11. Authors' Collective led by Manfred Naumann, "Gesellschaft-Literatur-Lesen. Literaturrezeption in theoretischer Sicht." Aufbau-Verlag, Berlin and Weimar, 1973.
12. Robert Weimann, ed., "Realismus in der Renaissance. Aneignung der Welt in der erzählenden Prosa," Aufbau-Verlag, Berlin and Weimar, 1977.
13. Authors' Collective led by Klaus Jarmatz and Christel Berger, "Weggenossen. Fuenfzehn Schriftsteller der DDR," Philipp Reclam Jun. publishing house, Leipzig, 1975.
14. Manfred Diersch, Walfried Hartinger, eds., "Literatur und Geschichtsbewusstsein, Entwicklungstendenzen der DDR-Literatur in den sechziger und siebziger Jahren," Aufbau-Verlag, Berlin and Weimar, 1976.
15. Klaus Walter, ed., "Ansichten. Aufsätze zur Literatur der DDR," Mitteldeutscher Verlag, Halle/Salle, 1976.

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EAST GERMANY

LITERATURE ON SOCIALIST PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 33 No 4, Apr 78 signed to press 9 Mar 78
pp 427-430

[Article by Gunter Berger and Hans-Joachim Gruhn, both graduate social scientists and doctoral candidates at Institute for Marxist-Leninist Sociology, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee: "Socialist Personality Development as Reflected in Social Science Literature"]

[Text] With the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, new possibilities, conditions and requirements arise for the formation and development of socialist personalities. Exercising a purposeful influence on it is a task confronting not only the teachers and educators but every manager too--be he a plant director or foreman, a party secretary or a trade union functionary. That raises innumerable questions. And the intensification of the ideological class struggle at an international scale causes the questions concerning the personality and its development to become subject of harsh ideological conflict between bourgeois and socialist ideology.

The consequence of all that is that the problems of personality development have also occupied more strongly in recent years the GDR social scientists. That is reflected in the numerous contributions and publications in which representatives of various science disciplines--philosophers, psychologists, sociologists, ethicists, pedagogs, medical persons and economists--have expressed themselves on the practical and theoretical questions of personality theory and personality development. Among such problems, to mention but a few, are included: the definition of the concept of personality or of socialist personality, the determinants for personality development, the role of work in the development of socialist personalities, or the dialectic of the biological and the social. The following is a report that uses some selected contributions and issues about the research results in personality theory and about the problems under discussion, with attention given to what the various standpoints have in common and in what respects they differ.

What all these publications have in common is that they are all using and creatively extending the insights of Soviet scientists. Of outstanding rank in this are the theoretical statements and developed methodological principles for the theory of personality by such prominent Soviet social scientists as I. S. Kon, P. E. Kryatsev, L. P. Buyeva, V. P. Tugarinov, G. L. Smirnov, and Ye. V. Shokhorova.

The fundamental point of departure for the problems of personality development dealt with by the GDR authors lies in the inevitabilities of historical materialism which were elaborated and scientifically established by the founders of Marxism-Leninism, and principally the fundamental realization of Karl Marx explaining man, in the materialist sense, out of his real life and historic process. It finds its concentrated expression in the famous Sixth Feuerbach Thesis: "But the human being is nothing abstract inherent in separate individuals. It is actually the ensemble of social relationships."¹ This realization constitutes the key, as it were, to the Marxist-Leninist personality theory. Starting from there all the authors reach the materialist conception of finding the individuals socially determined in society, and they unanimously emphasize the power and property relations as the crucial and primary determinants for the personality development.

In summarizing what the publications have worked out and explained in this regard, mainly three aspects have to be mentioned.

First, the theoretical-methodological point of departure is thereby provided for conceiving of personality as "a concrete-historic individual who lives under defined historic conditions, mode of production and social and ideological relations, works and, being a member of social classes, takes part more or less consciously and actively in the historic processes of his time."²

This is the process in which personality develops, in which the concrete-historic features of personality are formed. Arnold writes: "Personality development is determined by the objective political, ideological, cultural-esthetic, moral and other relations among the social classes and groups and individuals, dependent on the state of development of the productive forces and, above all, the production relations. 'Personality' is primarily a social phenomenon determined by definite class conditions and communal relations, the outcome of the objective social process in which it plays an active part itself as its subject."³

And Adler, Jetzschmann and Kretzschmar explain: "Ultimately the social content of personality development in socialist society results from the socioeconomic content of the socialist social ownership in the means of production, that is, the objective identity of producer and proprietor at the scale of total society, the production goal thereby given and the immediately social character of labor."⁴

Second, this point of departure permits a sound explanation for our ideological position on the place of man in society and on the role and importance of such factors of influence as men's membership in classes and strata, the collective and also individual characteristics (age, sex, social origin, education, skills, basic political convictions) with respect to personality development, and for disclosing the dialectical interchange between the individual, the collective and the society.

Third, it is the crucial theoretical point of departure for taking issue with unscientific conceptions of personality, mainly with anthropological, psychologistic and biologicistic theories, which all start with a general human mode of existence and derive the structure of personality from drives or internal "psychological nature." Mainly Hoerz⁵ and Arnold take issue with such bourgeois theories. They demonstrate that the recognition or non-recognition or the covering up of the material-social determinants is the point from where Marxist and bourgeois personality conceptions ultimately depart in fundamentally different directions. As bourgeois ideology, by definition, does away with the idea of the production relations being the fundamental objective relations and conditions in society, it can draw nothing but an abstract, ahistoric image of personality.

Showing the socialist property and power relations to be the determinants of socialist personality development does not suffice, however, for exploring the multilayered nature of this process. For that reason the authors are examining other factors of influence which affect the process of socialist personality development. Determining the social content of personality development in a comprehensive sense becomes possible only if attention is paid to the class membership, or the membership in a stratum, of the members of a class society, which ultimately is again determined by the dialectic of the productive forces and production relations. For socialist personality it is essential that it is taking place under a historically new type of class relations. As class antagonism is abolished, due to the socialist ownership in the means of production and the development of socialist society, and the various classes and strata are closely allied and are working together in friendship, the fundamental social contents in socialist personality development can develop as something that transcends the classes and strata and become a common good. At the same time, differences in personality development and in the degrees to which socialist personality traits are formed exist between the classes and strata. They result from differences in the conditions of existence and also from differences in the historic development of the classes and strata.⁶

Mainly it is the workers class, as the main social and political force of socialist society, which produces the essential characteristics and modes of conduct that are typical of socialist personality. In the struggle for bringing its historic mission to realization, in the struggle for a great output in production, and in its confrontation with the class enemy, such general features of socialist personality have formed among the members of the workers class as a sense of responsibility, collective spirit, discipline,

a socialist work attitude and an internationalist attitude.⁷ They are found to be most intensive and stable here. Something else also is to be noted, and this is reflected in much of what all these authors have to say: The workers class is a social organism, and its dynamics is marked by quantitative and qualitative growth. From that, new and higher demands constantly result for the individual, and other consequences for his personality development do too.

The examination and presentation of personality development processes that have differentiating effects within the workers class, and the effect of such factors as the position in the social and industrial reproduction process, of the level of demands and conditions in the labor process, and of membership in different kinds of work collectives, mainly provides the management cadre with many suggestions and recommendations. A special point should here be made of the investigations by Fitze, Pauligk and Schleiff on improving the flexibility of the workers and on the growing responsibility the workers have for the means of labor.⁸ That also applies to the statements made by Wilke where the issues of risk and of the courage to take risks, as a moral-ethical orientation for socialist personalities, are combined with other tasks like improving the effectiveness of production and the labor productivity.⁹

In further investigations of the differentiating factors in the development of socialist personalities, attention will have to be paid to the process of the social rapprochement between the classes and strata in socialist society. This also involves the effect the specific conditions of the classes and strata have on the development of socialist personalities. For the further work that has to be done here, the book "Workers Class and Personality in Socialism" gives valuable hints because the authors, as it were, provide an access that is important both in the methodological-theoretical and the practical sense to a concrete-historic view on personality and its systematic and purposeful development in socialism by presenting the principles and levels in the social determination of personality and their interconnections. The levels themselves are: overall social, class-specific and individual particulars.

An importance that should not be underrated in the further elaboration of the Marxist-Leninist personality theory--and this is also shown by various studies--is attributed to a further investigation of individual, typical personality features, as they are so very important in explaining differences in modes of thought and conduct among individuals working under similar social conditions. Attention to such individual characteristics as physical and psychological traits, basic convictions, education and skills, age and so forth--Arnold and Neuner are making a point of it--is indispensable in personality theory and in bringing up socialist personalities. On that, there are many concrete references and arguments found in these books. Hoerz also relates the differentiating effects of individual traits to the presentation of the role of moral norms for the formation of socialist personalities.

There still exists a rather controversial problem in personality development theory: the precise definition of the concept "personality" or "socialist personality." But a clear definition is needed in order to provide a uniform methodological device for the empirical social science research process and for deriving concrete conclusions for the practical process of personality development. Even though all the various definitions are based on a dialectic-materialistic view, they still differ from one another considerably. The authors are all agreed that the personality of man is basically determined by its social nature and social activities. But as there are various disciplines dealing here with the problems of personality development, various criteria for the definition--be they philosophic, sociological, socio-psychological, or individual-psychological--predominate. They are shown in the range and delineation of the concept. Arnold, for example, points out that one cannot account for the nature of personality without its psychological structure and dynamics, for human conduct is oriented and regulated by psychological conditions. Then there are other authors¹⁰ who say that when one defines personality development as a dialectic between appropriation and embodiment, as an object-subject dialectic, one can make more of the personality concept in terms of its ideological function. The status reached in the determination of the personality concept, as reflected in the literature reviewed here, indicates one has been able to go beyond a certain normative approach to personality development that prevailed in the past. The still existing differences in definitions indicate that the discussion about the personality concept has not yet been brought to conclusion.

Much is done in connection with personality development about the relationship between the biological and the social. Hoerz and Arnold have picked that up. The more extensive possibilities for an ever better satisfaction of the working people's material and cultural needs and their greater awareness and higher level of demands, all of which is connected with the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, are directly bringing up for discussion the matters of a harmonious process of life, of physical and psychological well-being. But a number of new questions of this kind also arise from the higher demands made on the working people, for instance through the acceleration of scientific-technical progress. This, after all, involves the rational use made of the natural gifts and potentials and their reproduction, but it also involves the systematic shaping of the conditions and contents of labor by which the pleasure of working is enhanced, the reduction of heavy and hazardous work, the improvement of conditions for working women, the creation of suitable jobs for senior citizens and other sociopolitical measures.¹¹

These studies use various approaches by which to give insight into the dialectic between the biological and the social in the personality development process. They make clear why an understanding of this dialectic is important not only for an analysis of personality development but also for a scientific and sound education and self-education for socialist personalities. They show how the all round development of socialist personalities proceeds as a unified process of interchanging social and biological phenomena, the social ones being the ones that are of overriding importance. Arnold has picked out

some points on the role that biological phenomena play in personality development and how they are interrelated with social determinants, such as the relation between genetic and social endowment. Hoerz looks at these matters under the aspect of sex differences and their ideological evaluation. In this connection the authors come to take issue with a number of variants in the bourgeois ideology which are attributing primary importance to the biological in human behavior and are reducing all individual or social manifestations and modes of behavior to some allegedly inherent natural forces in man.¹²

The all round development of socialist personalities is the goal and basic task in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society. Many pedagogical questions arise here, along with the ones already referred to--as demonstrated by Neuner's work. He answers the question of how conscious and organized education is to be embedded in the comprehensive process of socialist personality development in our society, where it enters and how it can be structured, methodologically and organizationally, in such a way that the greatest possible effect is achieved. A reader will find this work also especially stimulating.

FOOTNOTES

1. Karl Marx, "Theses on Feuerbach," Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 3, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1958, p 6.
2. Gerhart Neuner, "Sozialistische Persoenlichkeit--ihr Werden, ihre Erziehung" (Socialist Personality--Its Development, Its Education), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1975, p 19.
3. Alfred Arnold, "Was formt die Persoenlichkeit?" (What Forms Personality?), VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1976, pp 22-23.
4. Frank Adler, Horst Jetzschmann and Albrecht Kretzschmar, "Arbeiterklasse und Persoenlichkeit im Sozialismus," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1977, p 53.
5. Cf. Helga E. Hoerz, "Blickpunkt Persoenlichkeit" (Focal Point: Personality), VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1975.
6. Cf. Frank Adler et al, op. cit., pp 54 f.
7. Cf. Gerhart Neuner, op. cit., p 27.
8. Werner Fitze, Norbert Pauligk and Henning Schleiff, "Wissenschaftlich-technischer Fortschritt-Arbeit-Persoenlichkeit" (Scientific-Technical Progress--Work--Personality), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, pp 84 ff.
9. Cf. Ursula Wilke, "Risiko und sozialistische Persoenlichkeit" (Risk and Socialist Personality), VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1977, pp 43 f, 78 f, and 86 f.

10. Cf. Frank Adler et al, op. cit., pp 107-108.
11. Cf. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, pp 24-25.
12. Cf. Alfred Arnold, op. cit., pp 128 ff, and Helga E. Hoerz, op. cit., pp 46 ff.

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EAST GERMANY

SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

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'For Documentation' addendum

Increase in Labor Productivity--A Component of the Main Task

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Wolfgang Heinrichs, director, Central Institute for Economic Sciences, GDR Academy of Sciences; corresponding member of the academy; and Prof Dr Helmut Koziolk, candidate, SED Central Committee; director, SED CC's Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management; chairman, Scientific Research Council; member, GDR Academy of Sciences and EINHEIT editorial staff; pp 347-355]

[Text] Proceeding from the importance of a steady increase in labor productivity as an economic law of socialism, the article explains what it is that expressed the increase in labor productivity and what the relationship is between labor productivity and effectiveness. The main ways are shown that lead to increased labor productivity--especially the new trends involved--, with the emphasis placed on scientific-technical progress as the crucial productivity factor. Increasing with it is the role of man as the main productive force, his initiative, creativity and responsibility.

Socialist Rationalization--A Chief Factor in Labor Productivity Increase

[Summary of article by Dr Robert Kunze, engineer, director, Scientific-Technical Center, VEB (State Enterprise) for Machine Building and Instrument Making, Grimma, of the Chemical Plant Construction Combine; pp 356-362]

[Text] Socialist rationalization is of the greatest importance to the further fulfillment of the main task. Pursuing this idea, the author shows by many practical examples how socialist rationalization can be realized through long-range technical policy. Technical development, leading to a rapid increase in labor productivity goes hand in hand with the development of working and living conditions and cadre development. It is shown especially how rigorous political-ideological work fosters thinking in terms of quality, design and the application of rationalization means.

Economic and Social Effectiveness of Scientific-Technical Progress Must Be Increased

[Summary of article by Dr Karl-Heinz Graupner, political researcher, SED Central Committee; Prof Dr Wolfgang Salecker, group chief, SED CC's Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management; and Prof Dr Gunnar Winkler, director, Institute for Sociology and Social Policy, GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 363-369.]

[Text] The authors are generalizing the experiences of the USSR and the GDR in the complex management and planning of scientific-technical progress and in the preparation and implementation of technical policy. They explain the importance of scientific-technical target programs, the target program method and the prerequisites for a most efficient transfer of scientific achievements into production. They proceed from the unity of scientific-technical, economic and social progress and examine the effects scientific-technical progress has on the working people's working and living conditions.

On the Humanism of the Socialist Planned Economy

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Harry Nick, program head, Institute for Political Economy of Socialism, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 381-388]

[Text] Social security and organizing the kind of social conditions under which working man becomes the master of his fate--these issues are of an increasing importance in the present ideological conflict. As the monopoly bourgeoisie cannot or will not solve these problems, it pretends that insecurity is the price of personal freedom. The real processes in the countries of socialism prove political working class power, the social ownership in the means of production and their effective use, will guarantee social security to all men and the free development of their personality.

Progressive Youth Movement in Struggle for Peace, Democracy and Basic Rights of Young Generation

[Summary of article by Dr Dietmar Boernert, political researcher, SED Central Committee; and Dr. Hartmut Koenig, secretary, FDJ Central Council; pp 389-396]

[Text] More and more young people of various classes and strata and of diverse ideological and political persuasions are enlisting in the anti-imperialist struggle for peace, democracy and social progress on the side of all the progressive forces. The unity of action in the democratic youth movement has been solidified through various WFDY and ISL activities. That was also demonstrated by the 10th general conference of the WFDY in Berlin. The FDJ as always stood up as a respected part of the international youth movement and is making its active contribution to the implementation of the WFDY measures aimed at the interests of youth.

Focal Points of Imperialist Intrigues in South and Horn of Africa

[Summary of article by Siegfried Buettner and Dr Wolfgang Semmler, sector chief and political researcher, respectively, in SED Central Committee; pp 405-413]

[Text] Pressured by the struggle of the national liberation movement in Africa, which relies on the solidarity from the Soviet Union and the other fraternal states, imperialism is trying to give a facelift to the racist regimes in Zimbabwe, the Republic of South Africa and the colonial status of Namibia, so as to cheat those peoples out of their struggles' rewards. Characteristic of the strategy of imperialism in Africa also is its conspiracy against the revolutionary Ethiopia. What predominates in Africa, however, is not the counterrevolutionary trend, borne by imperialism and the reactionary regimes, but the trend of revolutionary progress.

Monopoly Capital's Economic Power Concentration Against Working People

[Summary of article by Dr Gretchen Binus, department head, GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics; pp 414-419]

[Text] A significant acceleration of the monopolization process is taking place in the '70's that was caused by a great variety of internal and external influences on the conditions under which imperialism exists. This article deals with the economic inevitabilities underlying that process and with important criteria for the new level of monopolist power concentration as well as with the intensification of the class antagonism that comes with it, the increasing exploitation of the workers class by the international monopolies and the growing antimonopolist struggle.

EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

NEUMANN ATTENDS FUERNBERG'S FUNERAL--Vienna--More than 1,000 Austrian communists attended on Tuesday, together with representatives of fraternal parties of several socialist countries and members of the diplomatic corps in Austria, the funeral at the Vienna Central Cemetery of the Austrian communist and internationalist Friedl Fuernberg, who died on 27 April after a long illness. A delegation of the SED Central Committee led by Alfred Neumann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, also attended the funeral ceremony, which began with a commemorative session of the Central Committee of the Austrian Communist Party. [Excerpts] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1958 GMT 16 May 78 LD]

FRG COUPLE SENTENCED--Berlin--Schwering bezirk court today sentenced agents of the criminal Lampl gang, Charlotte and Heinz Froemming from Hamburg in the FRG, to 13 and 8 years in prison respectively on account of crimes under paragraph 105 of the criminal code. The passenger vehicle used in violating the transit agreement has been confiscated. The two offenders had been incited by gang leader Julius Lampl from Hamburg to repeatedly violate the transit agreement. It was proven in the trial that the gang recruited agents through advertisements in the Springer paper BILD-ZEITUNG, Hamburg, and with the aid of the police in Hamburg and West Berlin had their "reliability" checked. In order to equip his agents for attacks on the transit agreement, the criminal Lampl maintains a stockpile of firearms and ammunition. At Lampl's direction the Froemming agents unscrupulously misused their children in order to carry out their criminal acts disguised as harmless tourist trips. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1558 GMT 12 May 78 LD]

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HUNGARY

BIOGRAPHIC DATA ON HUNGARIAN PERSONALITIES

[The following information on Hungarian personalities has been extracted from Hungarian-language sources published in Budapest, unless otherwise indicated]

DR LASZLO HORVATH was born in 1921, in Cinkota. He graduated at the Faculty of Chemical Engineering of [Budapest] Technical University. In January 1952 he became chief engineer of the largest rubber-industry enterprise, where he rose to general manager. He is a candidate of sciences, titular professor at the University of Heavy Industry in Miskolc. He became a member of the central committee of the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialism Workers Party] in February 1975. This year he was appointed deputy minister of the heavy industry. On 1 July 1977 he became deputy chairman of the National Planning Bureau. (MAGYAR HIRLAP 23 Oct 77 p 5)

ALBERT KONYA was born in 1917. He is a physicist and professor; he is the director of the Institute of Physics at Budapest Technical University. He is an ordinary member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. After the liberation of the country, he worked in many important political areas also. In 1956 he became minister of education; between 1957 and 1962 he was secretary of the Council of Science and Higher Education. Then he became dsputy general secretary of the MTA [Hungarian Academy of Sciences] and department head. At the present time, he heads the Committee on Scientific Qualification.

His scientific activity is primarily in the area of solid substances, especially the theoretical interpretation of the physical properties of metals. (MAGYAR HIRLAP 1 Jan 78 p 5)

LAJOS URBAN was born in Budapest; he is 43 years old. He studied at the Technical University; he is an engineer and an economist. After his university studies, he first worked for the railways. Thence he joined the KPM [Ministry of Transportation and Postal Affairs]; later he worked at the National Planning Bureau and the party center. For a short time, he was deputy general director of the MAV [Hungarian State Railways]; later he was deputy minister of transportation and postal affairs. He is the author of numerous econo-political studies. (MAGYAR HIRLAP 29 Jan 78 p.5)

DR LASZLO PAPP was born in 1926. He graduated as an engineer in 1950 from Budapest Technical University. He is a candidate of sciences since 1955. First he worked as an industrial manager, and then became Hungary's CEMA deputy representative which post he held for several years. Since 1976 he is deputy chairman of the OMF [National Technical Development Committee]. He authored several studies and scientific articles (MAGYAR HIRLAP 12 Feb 78 p 5)

DR OTTO CSIKY was born in 1928. He studied law and completed his university studies in 1951. He is candidate of political and legal sciences, and titular lecturer at the University of Sciences in Pecs. He authored several law textbooks. He was judge and, between 1967 and 1977, chairman of the Megye Court in Pecs. From 1 May 1977, he is deputy chairman of the Highest Court of the People's Republic of Hungary (MAGYAR HIRLAP 5 Mar 78 p 5)

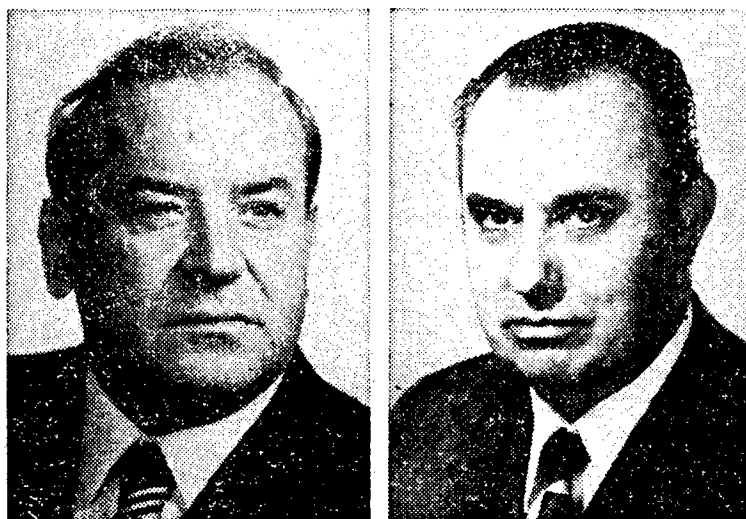
DR LASZLO PAKSAI, titular bishop, was born 8 May 1927 in Szeged. He started his theological studies in the Franciscan Order, and continued them at the Central Seminary of Budapest. He was consecrated priest on 3 March 1951. He became Dr of theology in 1952; his degree was awarded by the Theological Academy of Budapest. He first worked in Szeged, at the diocese district; later he became professor of philosophy at the Seminary of Szeged. He became spiritual leader there in 1962. Since 1965, he is spiritual leader of the Central Seminary in Budapest; since 1967 he professor of philosophy at the Theological Academy. In the summer of 1966 he carried out philosophical research at the Catholic University in Loewen. In 1973 he became president of the Central Seminary in Budapest; since then he is president and professor of the Theological Academy. His motto is: "In Virtute Spiritus" [spirit in virtue]. Dr Paksai is "Ad Nutum Sanctae Sedis" [Vatican-appointed] apostolic governor of the diocese of Veszprem and also titular bishop of Bavagliana. (MAGYAR KURIR 7 Mar 78 p 116)

DR FERENC ROSTA, auxiliary bishop, was born 31 October 1913 in Buzsak, in the Veszprem diocese. He studied at the German-Hungarian College in Rome. He obtained his theological doctorate at Gergely University. Between 1941 and 1943 he was parish priest in Buzsak and Zalaber; between 1943 and 1944, religion teacher in Nagykanizsa; between 1944 and 1949, professor of theology in Veszprem. Then he became parish priest in Papa and Balvanyos. Since 1971 he became parish priest in Balatonszemes. Since 1975 he is honorary high priest. Dr Rosta is titular bishop of Garriana, assigned as auxiliary bishop to the bishop of the Megye in Szekesfehervar. (MAGYAR KURIR 7 Mar 78 p 116)

ISTVAN KISS was born in 1923; he is Dr of chemical sciences and titular professor. He graduated from secondary school in Bekescsaba; he studied at the universities of Szeged and Budapest. He defended his candidate dissertation at the university of Leningrad. For almost 20 years he worked at the Central Research Institute of Physics; for five years he worked at the headquarters of the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna. Since October 1976 he is president of the National Metrology Bureau. He is a member of the presidential committee of the International Metrology Committee. In 1963 he was awarded the Kossuth Prize in recognition of his achievements in the field of the study of radioactive isotopes. (MAGYAR HIRLAP 26 Mar 78 p 5)

DR JOZSEF KADAR was born in 1936. He graduated from Marx Karoly University of Economic Sciences in 1958. Initially he worked in the building industry. His first assignments were in the field of building economics; since 1967 he works at the Ministry of Construction and Urban Development, where his assignments include planning, administrative, computer-technological, information, and supervisory activities. His responsibility broadened all the time. Since 1974 he is main department head; in 1976 he was appointed deputy minister. (MAGYAR HIRLAP 9 Apr 78 p 5)

New Secretaries of the Central Committee:



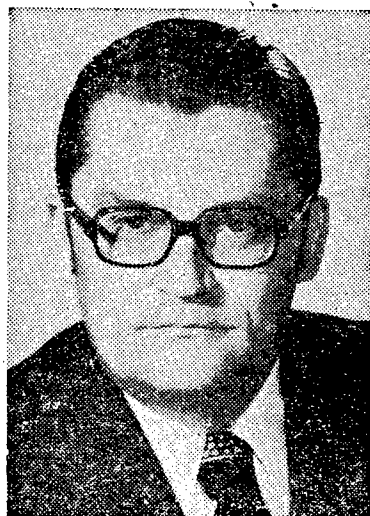
FERENC HAVASI

MIHALY KOROM

(NEPSZABADSAG 23 Apr 78 p 6)



JOZSEF MARJAI, a new member of government, was born in 1923 in Budapest. He participated in the labor movement since 1939; he became a member of the Communist Party in 1943. In 1976 he was elected member of the central committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. He worked at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs since 1948. He performed several terms of diplomatic service abroad, and was head of various departments of the ministry. He was Hungary's ambassador in Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. In 1970 he was appointed deputy minister of foreign affairs. In 1973 he became state secretary. Since 1976 he was in charge of Hungary's embassy in Moscow. He has been awarded the Order of the Socialist Fatherland, the Worker-Peasant Power Medal, and other medals. (NEPSZABADSAG 23 Apr 78 p 6)



DR IMRE MARKOJA was born in 1931 in the village of Hetes (Megye Somogy). He graduated in law and political science from Eotvos Lorand University of Sciences. First he was staff member at TARSADALMI SZEMLE [Social Review]; later he became member of the central committee. He was appointed deputy minister of justice in 1963, and later became first deputy minister of justice. In 1973 he became state secretary at the Ministry of Justice. He is a member of the Hungarian Association of Jurists, the Committee of Political and Legal Sciences of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the council of the Advanced Legal Education Affairs (chairman), and the editorial board of MAGYAR JOG [Hungarian Law]. He is a party member since 1948. He has been awarded the Gold Medal of Labor. (NEPSZABADSAG 23 Apr 78 p 6)



ISTVAN SOLTESZ was born in 1927, in the village of Hamor. He is a party member since 1947. He became metallurgical engineer in 1951; he graduated from the Faculty of Metallurgical Engineering of the Technical University of Sopron. He taught as assistant professor at the University of Heavy Industry in Miskolc. Afterward he worked at the Ministry of Education and later at the Ministry of Metallurgy and Machine Manufacture. In 1954 he became director of the Metallothermy enterprise in Apc; between 1955 and 1964 he was director of the Metallochemistry enterprise. In 1964 he joined Csepel Ferrous and Nonferrous Metallurgical Works, where he was first director of the nonferrous section and later became general deputy of the general manager. He was appointed general manager of Csepel Works in 1974. He is member of the permanent nonferrous metallurgical government committee within the CEMA, and of the Hungarian-Soviet Scientific and Technical Cooperation Committee. In 1975 he was awarded the Gold Labor Medal. (NEPSZABADSAG 23 Apr 78 p 6)

2542

CSO: 2500

POLAND

PRESS COMMENTS ON ITALIAN TERRORISM, AFGHAN COUP

Warsaw PAP in English 0510 GMT 11 May 78 LD

[Press Review]

[Text] Warsaw, 11 May PAP -- Major domestic news stories in today's press concern the reception by Edward Gierek of Aleksander Grlickov, the envoy of Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito, the meeting of Prime Minister Jaroszewicz and Austria's vice-chancellor, Dr. Hannes Androsch, announcement of the visit to be paid here soon by Finnish Premier Kalevi Sorsa and congratulatory message from Poland to Nur Mohammad Taraki, the Afghanistan leader.

Italy after the murder of Aldo Moro is the main subject of foreign reports. Much space is also devoted to the programme of Afghanistan's new authorities.

The situation in these two countries is also commented by several papers.

Trybuna Ludu writes about the assassination of Aldo Moro: "Crime, cynicism, cruelty. Only with these words can one speak about the murder. But the judgment passed in moral terms; obvious and necessary as it is, cannot reveal the true nature of the phenomena of which the Christian Democratic leader became the victim.

"For a long time now, Italy has been suffering from a serious crisis affecting various spheres of life -- political, social, economic and also a moral one. The instability of state and social structures, typical for all contemporary capitalist countries, has taken on in Italy particularly acute and clear forms. It is this instability that has given rise to the emergence of terrorism.

"Acts of terrorism, despite the veil of demagogic slogans, trigger off chaos and tensions which serve attacks against democrats, and communist in particular. Whether carried under fascist or pseudo-leftist cover, terrorism meets, no matter consciously or not, a definite 'social demand' of extreme right.

"All the acts of terrorism, which are contrary to humanistic principles, carried out by rabble-rousing, extremist elements of Italy, have been strongly condemned by Polish society and our party which was reflected in the message of April 5, sent by the PUWP CC to the PCI CC.

"To cut the roots of the crime is a difficult and complicated task which requires maximal unity and consistency on the part of Italian Democrats, Italian working class and all honest people of the country.

"To achieve this end not only effective immediate actions against the social evil of terrorism must now be taken but also deep socioeconomic ills that facilitate its spread ought to be removed. It is in the interest of all progressive forces of the world and all civilized mankind that the Italian people should implement these tasks."

In a commentary on the situation in Afghanistan, Zycie Warszawy writes:

"A fortnight after the coup d'etat Afghanistan walked into a period of enormous political activity, never before exercised by the country. The new government of Mohammad Taraki, whose hard-core is made up of activists of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, has launched a nationwide campaign to explain the aim and character of the April 27th uprising.

"The mass participation, confirmed by eyewitnesses' accounts, of Afghans' population in various meetings and rallies in the best criterion of the popularity of the new authorities. For millions of those living on the verge of poverty, those living their lives just to survive, the first declarations of the (?party) and the new government are an attractive political offer.

"The people's character of the revolution has been also proved by the principle of the Kabul Government's foreign policy. These include good neighbourly relations, friendship towards all nations of the world and policy of active and positive nonalignment.

"The April 27th revolution no doubt gives strength to the new Afghanistan. Its slogans activated peoples of a country which economy occupied low of the world statistical records. The new authorities aim at changing that situation once and for all, and thereby enjoy complete backing of majority of Afghanistan's population."

CSO: 2020

COMMENTATOR VIEWS BRITISH ROLE IN NATO

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 18 Apr 78 p 2

[Article by Taseusz Pioro: "England's Place in NATO"]

[Text] In the British budget for the fiscal year 1978/79, 6.9 billion pounds have been earmarked for military purposes, which is 600 million pounds more than last year's, and in fact, this year's budget.

Among the expenditures for its manifold military undertakings, Great Britain provides the largest appropriations for technical equipment and the modernization of its armed forces. In the coming fiscal year nearly 2.8 billion pounds (250 million more than last year), and, thus, slightly more than 40 percent of the entire military budget, will be dispensed for this aim. The ground forces will be armed with the improved "Chieftain" tanks, and, independently of this, work will get underway on Great Britain's own "constructions for the future" on account of the failure of negotiations concerning the building of the "tank of the 21st century" jointly with the FRG. In addition to new destroyers and frigates, the navy will receive its tenth consecutive atomic submarine, intended to overcome other submarines; two more will be launched in the coming years. The new "Tornado" fighter planes will enter the air force fleet in 1979 (to accompany the ground detachments). The arsenal of rockets will be modernized.

For subsequent years, final decisions on the matter of Great Britain's military budget have been made dependent upon the development of the international situation, and in particular upon the progress of the disarmament talks. Appraisals on this last subject are not too optimistic, the dragging of the SALT II negotiations, and also the postponement of the trilateral English-American-Soviet understanding concerning the complete ban on experimental nuclear explosions. The bugaboo of the intensified development of Soviet armaments also plays a specified role here.

England's contribution to the military potential of NATO is an inviolable item in its armaments expenditures. In accordance with the commitment made last year in London, at the meeting of the leaders of the NATO states, the

British Government announced a real increase in its military expenditures of 3 percent annually in the fiscal years 1979/80, 1980/81, of which the absolute majority will be directed towards modernizing the 55,000-strong Rhine Army stationed in the FRG and the 3,000-strong infantry brigade in Berlin. Already in the forthcoming period, new marine light infantry units and the aircraft carrier "Bulwark" will become part of the British forces manning the Atlantic Pact, and the air squadrons will get the new "Harrier" vertical take-off and landing plane. For balance, various specialized British detachments in NATO are supposed to be dissolved or reduced.

Exactly 30 years ago, the more than 300,000-strong colonial army guarded the British flag flying above its possessions, which had essential economic and strategic significance for the "islanders." Many detachments were stationed on the Indian subcontinent, in Palestine, Burma, and Ceylon, in Malaya and Singapore, on the Pacific Islands and in a number of African countries, from the Cape of Good Hope to Cairo.

Today, the British are concerned instead with internal affairs and with Europe. Aside from the Rhine Army in the FRG and approximately 15,000 soldiers stationed in Northern Ireland, slightly more than 10,000 soldiers are stationed in "overseas" garrisons, within the framework--albeit a dubious one--of Great Britain's obligations within the sphere outside of NATO. One battalion is stationed in the port of Belize in Honduras (to which neighboring Guatemala is laying claim), 4,000-5,000 soldiers are forming a "security garrison" in Hong Kong, a battalion of Gurkhas is protecting the port of Brunei on the island of Borneo, and several naval units are patrolling the coasts of the Falkland Islands. There are 2,500 British soldiers on Cyprus (half of them are there as UN peacekeeping forces) and an infantry battalion on Gibraltar. Air and naval units continue to be stationed on Malta, but by March 1979 they are supposed to finally leave this strategically important island in the Mediterranean Sea.

The mentioned bases and garrisons in the various parts of the world are the remnants of the grandeur of the British Empire. Nevertheless, England continues to occupy one of the leading positions in NATO, as one of the five "nuclear" powers, and its 340,000-strong professional army ranks with the pillars of NATO's military system.

8729

CSO: 2600

VATICAN'S PRESENT INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DISCUSSED

Warsaw SPRAWY MIĘDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 1, Jan 78 pp 24-45

[Article by Dr Jan Czaja, lecturer (adiunkt) in the Developing Countries Department of PISM: "The Vatican and Contemporary International Relations"]

[Text] The Vatican's Situation in International Law

The question of defining the Vatican's¹ international legal status appeared at the moment of the collapse of the ecclesiastical state in the year 1870, because despite a number of elements making it different from other states, insofar as this state had international legal status, the status of the Vatican, which was essentially devoid of any territorial basis or the whole state organization related thereto, it gave rise to far-reaching doubts. Despite the loss of the state, the Pope still remained the head of the Catholic Church and the leader of machinery of the congregations, offices, and tribunals (or Holy See) guiding the church and representing a powerful center of influence over hundreds of millions of believers throughout the world. In this period, which was difficult for the papacy, its moral-political role not only did not diminish, on the contrary it even increased. The Holy See still maintained diplomatic relations with states which did not withdraw their accredited representatives to the Pope. It still entered into agreements (concordats) with states, and the Pope often served as arbiter in international disputes. Such development of international practice² presaged the recognition of the Holy See as a subject of international law.

The Lateran Treaty was signed between the Holy See and Italy in 1929. It ultimately regulated relations between the two parties and created a miniature substitute for the former ecclesiastical state, the 44-hectare state of the Vatican City (official name: Lo Stato della Citta del Vaticano). Hence, from the moment the Lateran Treaty was signed, alongside the Holy See there was in international relations a second principle organically related to the central institution of the Catholic Church, the state of the Vatican City. The development of these relations, of which the Vatican is an active participant, and also the development of the theory of international law, now make it possible to be more precise in presenting the situation in international law.

The Holy See, taken above all to be the uppermost authority in the Catholic Church in the person of the Pope and, more broadly, the whole body of authority of the Catholic Church, and hence the group of congregations, tribunals, offices, secretariates, and so on, through which the Pope exercises authority over the church, is generally recognized by states as a party in international law. It has *ius contrahendi*, which it makes broad use of, signing with states both bilateral agreements of ecclesiastical content (of the concordat type) and multilateral agreements of nonecclesiastical content. It has also taken part as a full legal participant in many international conferences (for example, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe)³ and is a member of certain international organizations, including those of the United Nations (IAEA). It also has active and passive right of legation and makes broad use of it.⁴ Another party in international law is the state of the Vatican City, which makes bilateral agreements on matters related to the functioning of public services, mail, telegraph, and so on. It also participates in international conferences and is a member of many international organizations, including those of the United Nations (UPU, ITU).

The Lateran Treaty and a number of acts and agreements of a supplementary nature appear to equip the Vatican City with all the elements which any state has, that is, territory, population, administrative, legislative, and judicial authority, "armed forces" and police to protect public order, its own postal and telecommunications systems, a monetary system, and other public services. A detailed analysis of the various constitutional elements of the Vatican City, however, is bound to create extensive doubts as to the national status of this unit.⁵ There are a number of factors which lead us in this direction:

First of all, missing is an element essential to the concept of the state: population. Inhabitants of the Vatican are a group of church functionaries, technical employees, and their families, who come to the Vatican because they are engaged in certain functions. After fulfilling the mission (for children, after reaching their majority), they basically have no right to reside in this territory and lose their Vatican citizenship. The institution of citizenship after all is not based on the known principles of *ius soli* or *ius sanguinis* under international law, but on a sort of *ius functionis*. The concept of nationality does not occur here, and there is no natural dynamics for the development of population;

The Vatican City's public services operate only through the assistance of the Italian state, without which after all the functioning of the Vatican body would not be possible at all;

Despite the existence of ecclesiastical legislation and the issuance of basic legal documents in the realm of the functioning of the Vatican City, when a crime is committed, the appropriate courts are the Italian courts;

Finally, there is no sovereignty. The Vatican City indeed does have its own internal organization apart from the Holy See (some elements overlap), but having been created as a territorial unit, over which the church body has

"ownership" and exclusive, sovereign jurisdiction," which is supposed to fill certain functions for the Holy See, it cannot be considered a sovereign body.

These formal legal explanations on the matter of the international legal status of the Vatican are particularly important in relation to the institutional forms of the operation of Vatican diplomacy, activity in the realm of both these bodies' entering into agreements, and membership in organizations and participation in international conferences. In the realm of political activity, it is commonly accepted to treat both of them together and to call them "the Vatican," but it should be remembered that in this organic union of the two, it is the ecclesiastical one, the Holy See, which is the deciding, uppermost one.

Main Purposes and Directions of the Vatican's International Activity

Despite the fact that official church doctrine affirms religious, moral, and social purposes of the Vatican diplomacy⁶, the history of international relations shows that papal diplomacy, along with fulfilling its specific functions and goals, the only ones proper for it, has also carried out others, which are proper and typical for secular diplomacy. It has undertaken such tasks as representing and protecting the political interests of the papacy, protection of the Vatican's material interests and the goods of the church, conducting talks and negotiations with host countries, and observing the situation in places it has been. All this activity has been subordinated to the supreme goal, the Vatican's attempt to maintain a position of "an element shaping relations and the international situation."

At the present time, despite the Holy See's declaration, expressed in Article 24 of the Lateran Treaty, about the desire "to remain afar from temporal disputes between various states and the international congresses created for this purpose," which should be interpreted as noninvolvement in political matters, the goals mentioned above are still the center of the Vatican's interest, although their implementation is not and cannot be as effective as formerly, because there has been a change in the objective conditions under which the church and its directing center operate: the church has become "secular," and there has been a deep "desacralization" of life. And despite the fact that the Vatican's political and moral role is still great, in order for the church's ruling center to maintain its influence in the world, it must adapt its forms of influence to the conditions of the present day, to a world which is becoming increasingly secular. Pope John XXIII began the period of important changes and attempts to adapt the church. This was expressed during the Vatican II deliberations and in the council documents (1965 constitution 'Gaudium et Spes'). This line of renewal and modernization of the church is being continued by Pope Paul VI (1967 encyclical 'Populorum Progression,' and the 1971 papal letter 'Octogesima adveniens'). One of the church's ways of making up for its internal difficulties is the increase in the Vatican's diplomatic activity, the policy of general presence in the world.

What are the major directions of this increased international activity on the part of the Vatican? The point of departure must be the statement that the Vatican is still strongly related to the capitalist system of the Western world and the process of the church's *aggiornamento* to the demands of the present day and changes in Vatican policy do not mean cutting itself off from capitalist structures, despite the church's hypotheses about its "nature being above regimes" or statements about the difficulty of determining "what the best state system is."⁷ In view of the progressing secularization of life in the West, the Vatican's enrollment in capitalistic structures and its political presence in the Western world on the one hand makes it necessary to adapt church structures to this situation and to salvage which has remained to be saved there from the once dominant position of the church, and on the other hand does not make its dialogue with the socialist world any easier, although the undertaking was a historical necessity and a condition to the success of the church's process of adapting to contemporary reality. Agostino Casaroli, secretary of the council on the public affairs of the church, stated this unequivocally. In a press interview, in response to critics of the Vatican's "Eastern policy," he asked: "Have these critics every considered what situation the church would be in, if the Holy See had not undertaken these measures (Eastern policy -- Jan Czaja) being carried out in practice?"⁸ The change in the Vatican's approach to the socialist countries, the Vatican's new "Eastern policy," is a successive, extremely important direction of activity on the part of the Holy See in the international arena.

The gradual normalization of relations with the socialist countries at the same time is a condition of another epoch-making church task, the success of the mission in "Third World" countries and entrance into the tremendous reaches of Asia and Africa. The postcolonial legacy which the Western states related to the church left there, the great national, cultural, and customs differences, the completely different nature of local religions, and on top of this the tottering, unstable political situation in many countries all were factors which made the church's mission more difficult in these areas and hampered the development of political contacts with the developing countries.

What are the ways and means of achieving the Vatican's major goals of international activity? Most generally speaking, they are twofold: The first consist of continuing the traditional forms of activity: the development of bilateral contacts, expansion of the institutional forms of operation of Vatican diplomacy, conduct of a modified concordat policy, and establishment of contacts with states with which the Holy See does not yet have diplomatic relations. The second group of means is the Vatican's joining in the broad front of multilateral diplomacy and conducting a policy of general presence in the world. Despite a certain "breaking off" by the Vatican from the embarrassing ties with the capitalist West, this is a difficult process which calls for both doctrinal changes and concrete practical steps, as well as the relaxation of certain formal legal bonds. This is expressed in active participation, or at least strict observation (depending upon the state) of important international events of a political and economic nature. Of pre-dominant importance here are the problems of maintaining world peace, detente,

and security and cooperation, and the Holy See's participation in the CSCE was a spectacular example of the Vatican's involvement in this extremely important current of international cooperation. Another form of the Vatican's participation in international life is its role in the various manifestations of multilateral cooperation among countries, in organizations, and at international conferences. Finally, the third is its reaction to events of a social, moral, and cultural nature, which have worldwide implications.

The Vatican and the Capitalist Countries

For a long time the church has been considered an important factor affirming the capitalist system. Alongside this, the stronger the meshing of the ecclesiastical and bourgeois structures, the more distinct, organized, and revolutionary the workers' movement became in its struggle to implement qualitative changes into the relationships of ownership. Besides the fear of the introduction of socialist ownership, which the church was as much afraid of as the bourgeoisie was, the church also had other fears arising out of its very being. It was mainly upset by the materialist bases of the scientific vision which Marxism endowed the workers movement with, mainly an atheistic world outlook. This is the reason for affirming the capitalist structure, the important combining of the two structures: the ecclesiastical and the capitalist, a unification built up on broad sociopolitical doctrine⁹.

Despite the close relations with the bourgeois sociopolitical system, the church has been reluctant to identify with the political model of bourgeois democracy, especially political parties. The development of the mass working class movement and the class struggle against the bourgeoisie at the beginning of the 20th Century, the force of the influence of communist ideas, the victory of the Great Socialist October Revolution, and the creation of the first state of the proletariat's dictatorship shook the foundations of the capitalist system. Like the bourgeoisie, the Catholic Church felt threatened by the working class, which was conscious of its socioeconomic and political goals. In place of the previous social experiments based on the principles of class solidarity, there was an effort to work out modern political-organizational forms to compete with Marxist-Leninist ideology and with the communist parties¹⁰. As in the Western European countries, they were created mainly where it was essential, in order to maintain the church's old feudal privileges. They became a tool of the church in the complicated play at the parliamentary forum, vis-a-vis the crossing and conflicting interests of groups, and a weapon in the anticommunist battle. The development of international events, the novel concepts and positive change in Vatican policy under the reigns of Pope John XXIII and Pope Paul VI, and also other conditions have been responsible for the fact that now it is only to a minor extent, except for Italy's specific situation, that the Christian Democratic parties, which mainly express the interests of the great bourgeoisie, feel themselves to be politically connected to the church, and often even depart from the ideological inspiration which was at the root of their creation.

Another form of the church's ties to the capitalist countries, as also used in previous socioeconomic formations, consists of the concordats which previously tried to regulate in a privileged manner the church's situation in a given country, but now they are an expression of compromise and the desire which both parties have to regulate matters of mutual interest under conditions of equality and independence, without the creation of rigid, inflexible frameworks¹¹.

There are after all far more forms of the church's ties with institutions of the capitalist system. They also occur in various areas: financial, economic, social, and others, but in connection with the progressing crisis in moral values in the West, the sudden secularization of life, and also the recognized necessity of political presence in areas which have other socioeconomic systems, an important turn-about has taken place in Vatican policy. But at least for the moment, this is not so radical and deep to keep the church's presence and the Vatican's political influence in capitalist countries from still being an element of the papacy's political strategy. Of course this can best be seen using the example of Italy, a country with which the papacy has special ties and without which the Vatican's existence would be impossible in its present form.

Despite the fact that the Vatican's influence on Italy's political life is presently less great than under the reigns of Pope Pius XI or Pope Pius XII, the church's presence in the public institutions of the Italian state is still a fact which must not be underestimated. Still in operation are a number of organizations, groups, and associations subordinated to the church hierarchy, with Catholic Action the strongest, and these bodies often have several or many thousands of members. In addition, there are organizations of an economic, financial, social, and cultural nature, as well as socio-vocational organizations encompassing specific groups of people or social strata.¹² They all work in cooperation and at least fit the political orientation of the Christian Democratic movement, the main political force and still the largest party in Italy. Being an actual representative of the interests of the church, mainly through the support of the Vatican and Catholic organizations the Christian Democrats for a long period after the war maintained a monopoly on political power in Italy. The progressive changes which occurred in the church after the papacy was assumed by Pope John XXIII and during the next period were the reason why the church's previously close ties to the Christian Democrats started to be uncomfortable for the church hierarchy, especially since the nature of some of the moves of the Christian Democrats were at odds with the long-range prospects for detente which were beginning to appear. The Christian Democrats in turn gave proof of a substantial departure from Christian inspiration and subordination to the church. A factor which began in a decisive way to influence the internal situation in Italy and therefore the attitude of the Vatican was the continual rise in the strength and political significance of the Italian leftists, especially the Italian Communist Party. This situation particularly disturbed the Italian episcopate, which, in the face of the apparent prospects for cooperation between the Christian Democratic Party

and the communists, published on 13 December 1975 a declaration in which it recalled that "it is not possible to be a Christian and a Marxist at the same time." Referring to an excerpt from the encyclical "Octogesima Adveniens," which states that in his desire to carry out his faith in political activity in the concept of service, the Christian cannot, without falling into conflict with it, support ideological systems which radically oppose essential points of his faith or its concept of man, the authors of the declaration state that such systems include those which have a materialistic and atheistic world view.¹³

In the face of the June elections to the parliament in May 1976, during the deliberations of the conference of the Italian episcopate, its head, Cardinal A. Poma, was severe in his criticism of the attitude of those Catholics who had decided to support the Italian Communist Party and vote for it in the elections. On the other hand, these views of the Italian church hierarchy should not be equated with the official position of the Vatican. It is true that Pope Paul VI, in speaking at the end of this conference of the episcopate, called on Catholics to vote for the Christian Democrats and said: "Values of faith must not be subject to compromise" (alluding to the concept of the "historical compromise" of the Italian Communist Party -- note by J. Czaja) "and must not be linked to views which are entirely counter to its nature," but he did not bow to the pressure of the most extreme Catholic circles and he did not threaten Catholics who planned to vote for the Italian Communist Party with excommunication.¹⁴ At the same time, Cardinal Benelli, who was at that time the assistant to the Vatican secretary of state, actually did come out against "the historic compromise" proposed by the Italian Catholic Party, but he made it clear that his comments did not apply to Catholics living under systems other than the Italian reality.¹⁵ On the other hand, the suffragan of Rome, C. Riva, who will doubtless sometime work in cooperation with the communist syndicate of the "eternal city," allowed the possibility of cooperation with the communist party in "situations of urgent necessity." Another evidence of the fact of the Vatican's increasingly pragmatic approach to the matter of cooperation with the Italian Communist Party is the fact that the formula of "passive support," which the Italian Communist Party is giving the Christian Democrats, thereby making possible the existence of G. Andreotti's single-party government, was accepted by the Vatican in principle.

A matter which for nearly the past 9 years has dominated Italian-Vatican relations is the revision of the Lateran treaties, especially the concordat, which represented an integral part of them (the political agreement, outside the strictly ecclesiastical points, was not in question). After much discussion and negotiating conducted by specially created groups, on 5 November 1977, a communique was issued on an agreement reached concerning the major principles of the new concordat between the Holy See and Italy.¹⁶ The draft of the treaty deprives Catholicism of the status of state religion in Italy, sanctions the secular nature of the state, and recognizes the equality of all faiths. Certain vestiges of the Catholic Church's jurisdiction in Italy (concerning the annulment of marriages) were eliminated along with privileges which the church had had. Rome ceases to have

the status of a "holy city," except that Italy recognized its special nature for the Catholic Church as the headquarters of the Pope and the Holy See. Church institutions will not be protected by special laws, and priests lose the privileges given them in the old concordat. The study of religion will not be compulsory for all pupils, only voluntary. Church marriage laws will not be binding on the state, which indirectly settles the issue of the Vatican's recognition of the divorce law under Italian civil law, but it does not mean that the church recognizes divorce itself (the church's drive prior to the divorce law referendum in Italy proves that this is not so).¹⁷

The matter of a new concordat between the Holy See and Italy illustrates only one of the tendencies appearing in the realm of Holy See's concordat policy consisting in this case of entering into agreements covering questions of interest to both parties in a modern way, in terms of both form and content, and also in a more secularized way, on the principle of full equality (the church giving up privileges previously awarded it). This also applies to revision of the concordat of Spain of 1953. Preliminary agreement has already been reached, wherein the Spanish government would give up rights in the area of the appointment of bishops, and the Vatican on the other hand would give up many privileges which priests in Spain still have.

The Federal Republic of Germany is another country in Europe which is getting particular attention from the Vatican, owing to the Christian Democratic parties operating there. So long as the aggressive, anti-Communist, conservative CDU/CSU policy faithfully followed the slogans of the anti-Communist crusade forced by the "German pope," Pope Pius XII, the Vatican's cooperation with the Christian Democratic movement in power in the FRG worked better than well. Pope John XXIII's adoption of a more realistic political course and its continuation and then expansion by Pope Paul VI were met with sudden, negative reaction from the governing Christian Democratic forces. The litmus paper of regimes was the question of the Vatican's "Eastern policy": Every gesture from behind the Bronze Gate suggesting merely the possibility of political and territorial recognition of the status quo in Europe evoked on the part of the FRG government and church hierarchy severe accusations that the concordat was being violated or that action was being taken to the detriment to the church in that country. This also was activated by cold-war retaliatory West-German circles which did not hide their anti-Rome and anticlerical leanings either.

The rise to power of the SPD/FDP coalition and the Christian Democratic parties' shift to the opposition created a certain sort of ambiguity in the situation, because on the one hand, the political course of detente represented by the new government coalition, especially the taking of steps to normalize relations with the socialist countries, helped further the aspirations of the Vatican, but, on the other hand, the decided opposition of the CDU and CSU, which ideologically were closer to the Vatican, vis-a-vis these efforts could not help but worry those behind the Bronze Gate.

The Brandt-Scheel coalition's signing of normalization agreements with the socialist countries opened the way for the Vatican in the direction of its own new "Eastern policy," the most important element of which was the shifting of the borders of the dioceses in the southern and western parts of Poland to make them correspond to national boundaries. It also permitted the Vatican to involve itself more actively in the matters of detente and the implementation of the ideals of the CSCE. The Vatican's realistic moves in relation to Poland and other socialist countries, especially the gradual decisions made on the normalization of administrative church relations in the GDR evoked a veritable storm in the Federal Republic of Germany. The CDU/CSU waged a fierce campaign against this policy. The declaration of the main committee of West German Catholics, published on 31 May 1975, on the occasion of a visit to the GDR by Archbishop A. Casarole, secretary of the Council for the Church's Public Affairs, is full of instruction for the Vatican and demands that its policy towards the socialist countries be revised. The statement shows that nothing in Germany has changed as the result of the war, that the territories east of the Laba should still be under the bishoprics whose cathedras are in the FRG, and that only the all-German bishops' conference can be the representative of the German church hierarchy. Any sort of revision in this peculiar conception of the status quo would be a violation of the concordat made between the Holy See and the German Reich in 1933.¹⁸ But we should also note more realistic voices, if only the statement of one of the more "open" representatives of the West German hierarchy, Bishop W. Kampe, who stated: "In entering into the Eastern pacts, the FRG government itself initiated a new policy in relation to the GDR, and the Vatican had only drawn conclusions from this action."¹⁹ Receiving FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt at an audience in March 1977, Pope Paul VI expressed satisfaction with the peace policy of the SPD/FDP coalition, as well as recognition for the Social Democrats' efforts in accomplishing Catholic social teaching in the FRG. The Pope gave a favorable assessment of the program adopted at the SPD congress in Bad Godesberg, at which the West German Social Democrats stated that their roots were in "Christian morality."

France is still an important country in the Vatican's policy. Pope Paul VI gave much convincing proof of this when, in "internationalizing" the Roman Curia, he appointed a number of French dignitaries of the church to responsible positions in Vatican offices (including Cardinal Villot to the key position of Secretary of State). At first the Vatican followed with great mistrust the decline of the church's traditional forms of penetration into the sphere of politics in France, but in time it began to show greater tolerance and then acceptance of the new concepts of church participation in political life. The experience of the French church in this regard was summed up during the plenary conference of the French Episcopate in October 1972 in a document launching the slogan of "the Christian way of practicing politics." This concept is based on recognition of the phenomenon of class struggle as the supreme, objective social category of our times. In this connection it also permits the class involvement of Christians guided in politics not by suggestions of the clergy

but by the dictates of one's own conscience. The church hierarchy should also have freedom in defining its behavior in election campaigns. This concept, which pivots on so-called political pluralism of the church, conceived of as an alternative of the model of "the one party of Catholics,"²⁰ has been finding fertile ground right in France for a long time, on the one hand because of the Catholic Mouvement Republicain Populaire (MRP) fiasco, and on the other hand, because of the ever-existing emancipation efforts of the French church hierarchy.

Speaking of the relations between the Vatican and France, we should emphasize the support which the Holy See has given to the development of French contacts with the East (back during the time when General de Gaulle was president) and to concepts of detente presented by this country. The good situation of French-Vatican relations was confirmed in December 1975, during French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing's visit to the Pope.

The Vatican's interest in maintaining permanent political contacts with the United States should be noted. The Vatican side would be eager to institutionalize these relations by entering into official diplomatic relations with the United States, which up until now has been only an exceptional occurrence during World War II. It is true that there is a papal delegate in the United States, but in keeping with his status, he is accredited to the local church hierarchy and does not have the status of a diplomatic representative. The arrangement of official diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the United States is hampered on the one hand by the complicated religious affairs in the United States and other faiths' opposition to such steps and, on the other hand, by the Vatican's reserve, which has been manifested many times, with regard to American foreign policy, especially the U.S. involvement in Vietnam, its Near East policy, and its relations with "Third World" countries. Certain hopes on this subject are expressed in connection with Jimmy Carter's assumption of the office of president. In January 1977, right after Carter took office, Pope Paul VI received Vice President Walter Mondale. The purpose of the visit was officially given as "to inform the Pope of possible U.S. aid to the poorest countries of the world."²¹

The Vatican's "Eastern Policy"

From the moment of the creation of the world system of socialist countries the Vatican's relations with these countries were bad. Taking anti-Communist positions, denying the postwar status quo in Europe, and even trying to interfere in the internal affairs of the socialist countries, the Vatican rejected any sort of plane for understanding.

The strengthening of the Soviet Union as a socialist world power, the continual increase in the power of the socialist community, the Vatican's frustrated "hopes" concerning the impermanent nature of socialism as a social system, and the crisis in old spiritual and moral values in the consumer societies of the capitalist countries were bound to lead to a

change in the Vatican's policy towards the socialist countries. This process was accompanied also by changes in the heart of Catholicism itself, as inspired by the most progressive, reformist elements aware of the isolation and the danger created by the church's adherence to old regressive positions vis-a-vis the progress of the process of secularization of the contemporary world in which the socialist countries are playing an increasingly greater role.

Hence, against the background of recognition of the new balance of power and the acceptance of the world socialist system as a lasting element in the modern world and an irreversible historical fact, on the one hand, as the result of the reforms and changes made within the church itself, on the other hand, the Vatican revised its tactics, without however giving up the implementation of older strategic goals. The new tactics stem from having become aware that total denial of the socialist world may lead to the church's permanent isolation in the East and that in this connection a decision should be made in favor of a certain rapprochement and normalization of relations with the socialist countries.²²

For the socialist countries, undertaking a dialogue with the Vatican is the consequence of unchanged assumptions of their policy based on the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence between countries with different sociopolitical and ideological systems and assuming among other things cooperation among all people of good will, regardless of their religious world outlook, on behalf of peace, progress, and the general prosperity of mankind.

As the result of the change in the Vatican's general policy toward the socialist countries, pacts were finally signed between the Holy See and the Hungarian People's Republic (15 September 1964) and Yugoslavia (25 June 1966). These are a special sort of agreement different from those which the Holy See previously entered into in that they regulate relations between the church and a new type of state, a socialist state. As the result of the agreement made, in 1966 diplomatic relations were set up between the Holy See and Yugoslavia at the legation level, with an elevation to the rank of embassy in 1970. Socialist Cuba also maintains diplomatic relations with the Holy See. After suspension during the period when the revolutionary rule was taking shape in Cuba (in December 1960, as the result of Cuban protest against Vatican support for counterrevolutionary forces), these relations were renewed on 3 February 1962 through the appointment of a new Cuban ambassador to the Holy See. There is also a Vatican representative with the rank of ambassador in Cuba. The Holy See does not maintain official diplomatic relations with other socialist states, but it has made contacts with them and entered into a dialogue aimed at normalization of these relations, among other things.

The Vatican's interest in intering into diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union should be emphasized. The first unofficial diplomatic contacts begun in the 1960's led to a number of visits back and forth at a high level,

including a visit by the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet in 1967 to the Vatican and a meeting with Pope Paul VI. Soviet minister of foreign affairs A. Gromyko has been to the Vatican many times. During the Soviet minister's most recent meeting with the Pope (June 1975), there was a thorough discussion of the questions of peace and disarmament, the problems of detente within the context of the CSCE, and certain problems of the church in the Soviet Union.

Hungary was the first socialist country with which the Vatican began talks on the subject of normalization of relations. In 1964 the above-mentioned agreement was signed. It regulated the then most important matters of appointment to fill the episcopal vacancies. During the next period (1974) normalization encompassed further matters, such as the catechesis of children and young people. In November 1975 the Pope received Hungarian Premier G. Lazar at a private audience during an official visit to Italy. Both sides confirmed the desire to continue mutual contacts and to gradually normalize relations. The result of the talks was the appointment of the former apostolic administrator of the archdiocese of Esztergom (seat of Hungarian primates), Bishop L. Lekai, as archbishop and metropolitan of this archdiocese, which meant full normalization of the status of ecclesiastical administration in Hungary. This was emphasized by the Vatican visit of Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Hungarian Workers' Party in June 1977. During this visit Pope Paul VI emphasized among other things the principle of the Vatican's "Eastern policy": that is, dialogue in order to maintain religious peace in various countries and for the purpose of peace, detente, and international cooperation conducted with respect "for the appropriate jurisdictions on both sides" and the method of resolving concrete issues.

The process of normalization of relations between the Vatican and the GDR is going well, considering the difficulty owing to external conditions. For a long time the Vatican considered matters concerning the situation of the Catholic Church in the GDR in direct connection with the church's situation in the FRG, judging the Federal Republic of Germany to be the sole representative of the two. GDR bishops were organized in the Berlin Conference of Ordinaries, which made up part of the German Conference of Bishops (West German) and was subordinate to it. Diocese boundaries in the GDR did not match the boundaries of the state. There was also the old all-Berlin diocese, which did not take into account the division of Berlin. As the result of talks between representatives of the Vatican and the GDR and also as the result of the normalization of relations between the FRG and the socialist countries (including relations between the two German states), the Holy See decided in October 1976 to form an independent conference of bishops of the GDR. The papal nunciature in Bonn also ceased to represent the Vatican to the two German states. Still left to be regulated is the question of changing the diocese boundaries to fit the national borders of the GDR.

The Vatican also entered into talks concerning the normalization of relations with other socialist countries: with Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and

Romania. It should be emphasized that in June 1975 Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the council of state of the Bulgarian People's Republic and first secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party, visited the Vatican and met with the Pope.²³

Talks are going well on the subject of normalization of relations between the Polish People's Republic and the Vatican. An auspicious condition for these talks was the Holy See's decision, delayed many years, to extend the church administration in the western and northern territories to the western border of our country, as established in the Potsdam Agreement. The talks cover the issues of the religious situation in Poland, normalization of relations between the state and the church, and other problems of interest to both sides.

Talks between the Polish government and the Vatican have entered the stage of regular contacts. To this end permanent working groups have been set up. In September 1974 K. Szlewski, who resides in Rome, was named minister plenipotentiary, as the Polish government's permanent representative for contacts with the Holy See, and Archbishop Luigi Poggi was appointed on the side of the Holy See. It should be remembered that in 1973 Stefan Olszowski, then Polish foreign affairs minister, visited the Vatican and was received by the Pope, and Vatican chief of diplomacy Agostino Casaroli came to Poland in February 1974. The two chiefs of diplomacy met also during the final phase of the CSCE in Helsinki.

The visit which First Secretary Edward Gierek paid to the Vatican on 1 December 1977 and the talks which he had with Pope Paul VI were an important event in the process of normalization of relations between Poland and the Holy See.

The Polish-Vatican dialogue is also favored by the progressing normalization of relations between the church and state within Poland, which was emphasized by Edward Gierek's meeting with Polish primate Stefan Wyszyński, chairman of the episcopate.

The Vatican and the Developing Countries

In Vatican policy the turn towards the East is of far greater meaning than would follow merely from the geographic orientation of Vatican activity. This also means breaking down a certain barrier of distrust which the countries of the "Third World" could feel towards the church, which is closed up within the capitalist West. In showing vital interest in the developing countries, the Holy See sets for itself a dual goal in relation to them: expansion of missionary and evangelical activity, and political penetration. Neither of these tasks is simple. The church's attempt to strengthen its position in the "Third World" is shown by the creation of a special papal commission on these matters, "Iustitia et Pax" (now "Pontificia commissione a Iustitia et Pace") during the post-council period, and also by a number of other moves, including the expansion and broader depen-

dence on the local clergy (especially in Africa) and the creation of many new cardinals in this region. The fourth bishops' synod in Rome (in 1974) was devoted to these questions, among others. An expression of Pope Paul VI's interest in relation to the enormous reaches of Asia and the social problems occurring there was the Pope's trip in 1970, the longest made, to a number of countries on this continent (Iran, Pakistan, Samoa, Indonesia, Philippines, Hong Kong, Ceylon) and to Australia. With his own eyes the Pope could see the Catholic Church's difficult situation in this area, where hundreds of millions of people are still living in extreme poverty and need concrete material assistance, instead of the words of the gospels. The church realizes that in a situation where Catholicism is an "imported" religion foreign to this continent, missionary work and the conversion of Asians (95 percent of whom are members of non-Christian faiths) have little chance of success. Thus the accents on ecumenism and the emphasis of the necessity for dialogue with local religions and faiths.

Somewhat better from this point of view is the situation in Africa, where there are about 60 million Catholics and 40 million members of other Christian sects. Missionary work and evangelization have certain successes here, although on this continent too it is necessary to engage the church in liberating man first of all from a condition of poverty, hunger, and the vestiges of colonialism before working for his soul. Ecumenical efforts are also successful in relation to Christians of other sects, as well as Moslems and atheists. The policy of apartheid and brutal racial discrimination against the black population as waged by the governments of the white minority in the Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia also have an adverse effect on the church's situation, although it should be mentioned that both the Catholic Church and other Christian churches in the past have indirectly contributed to this state of affairs, either by supplying doctrinal support or by remaining silent and not doing anything to combat discrimination. At the present time the churches are coming out unanimously against apartheid, becoming involved on the side of the African population, and appealing to leaders to restore basic human and social rights and respect for human dignity.²⁴ These actions of local churches are meeting with full approval from the Vatican, which supports them, for example, with appropriate personnel policy, appointing black citizens of these countries to responsible positions in the clergy (for example, an African was made Archbishop of Salisbury) and sending energetic clergy and missionaries determined to confront the racist regime.

The Catholic Church plays a positive, important role in the political life of Latin America. This applies to Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, and, especially, Chile. Luis Corvalan, chairman of the Communist Party of Chile, described the role of the church vis-a-vis events in this country this way:

"From the first day of the overthrow of the state the church exposed itself to repression. It faced a dilemma: to remain silent or to speak out. It elected the latter and became the voice of those who have no voice. It is the only institution which could help prisoners, persecuted people, their

families, the unemployed. In Chile the Catholic Church is coming out of a period of dictatorship with greater prestige is closer to the people from which it at one time withdrew."²⁵

The church's positive role in Chile was also emphasized by the news agency TASS, which expressed particular regard for Cardinal Henriguez, who heads the episcopate in Chile.²⁶ Pope Paul VI also addressed words of criticism on the subject of what is happening in Chile. It should not be forgotten that the current situation in this country is also to a certain extent a distressing event for the Vatican, which also vested its great hopes in the Chilean Christian Democratic Party, as the Christian Democratic party of a new type, one capable of properly protecting the church's interest in that country.

The example of Chile and other Latin American countries in which military juntas run the government, and also the situation in South Africa, show that the Vatican's political relations with the countries of the "Third World" are neither easy nor without conflict. In reality the Vatican has enjoyed few political successes in these enormous, important areas of today's world, but it should be emphasized that most of the Vatican's initiative, particularly in relation to dangerous conflicts and tensions, shows its realistic, constructive approach. The Vatican holds such a position, for example, with regard to the Near East conflict and comes out unequivocally for its peaceful solution based on the known U.N. security Council resolutions. Here the Vatican position is very close to that taken by the socialist countries, although in giving its own proposals for resolving the conflict and offering to act as mediator, the Vatican has placed particular emphasis on the special nature of Jerusalem and the related need to give the holy places located there international status.

The Vatican attitude on another great conflict over the "Third World," the Vietnam conflict, went through some evolution. The Vatican went from a declaration and proposal of peaceful resolution of the conflict, carefully put so as not to "upset" Washington, to more decisive appeals to stop the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and withdraw American forces from Vietnam, and more than once it offered its own services here. The Vatican was positive in accepting the solution of the Vietnam conflict and the establishment of the new combined state, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The Holy See was one of the first to recognize the new state. Talks are currently in progress on the subject of setting up a permanent papal mission in Vietnam.

The Vatican's careful, weighed policy on the Vietnam conflict was also the result of the need to take into account that policy's effect on Chinese-Vatican relations. Despite a large dose of good will and interest from the Vatican concerning the normalization of these relations (for example through the gradual withdrawal of its representatives from Taiwan), the results of its efforts are negligible and are limited to solving a few secondary problems (for example, the opening of a few churches closed during the cultural

revolution and Chinese cartographers' portrayal of the state of the Vatican City on the map of Italy as a unit independent of the Italian state).

Vatican diplomacy has also noted only minor success in relations with another important state of the Asian continent, India. The traditional but doctrinally justified view of the Vatican rejecting all means of birth control has hampered contacts with the Indian government and has not facilitated the work of the local church hierarchy.

In speaking about Vatican policy toward "Third World" countries, we should emphasize the Vatican's positive relationship to the postulates which these countries have launched in the struggle for a so-called new international economic order. During the conference on population problems in Bucharest in 1974, Vatican representative E. Gagnon emphasized "the urgent need to develop a new international economic order based on more justified principles to take into account particularly the situation of the poorest countries." He also said: "Responsible, rational consumption of the earth's natural resources of course implies overcoming the unjust inequalities which are present now and convincing the developed world that it is on the wrong road and should revise its lifestyle in this connection."²⁷ There were similar expressions in a papal letter to participants in a U.N. conference on industrial development in Lima in March 1975.²⁸

Vatican and the Problems of Detente and Security

A natural consequence of the positive changes which occurred in the international situation in Europe and the world toward the end of the 1960's and the changes within the church itself was the Vatican's support for the idea of calling the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and then for the Holy See's participation in the conference. Aware of the importance and significance of the CSCE and the political benefits stemming from participation in its deliberations (and of isolation in the event of failure to participate in them), the Vatican only appeared to depart from the principle of political noninvolvement in "worldly affairs" between states, as expressed in Article XXIV of the Lateran Treaty, because no interpretation of the article could deprive it of participation in a constructive discussion at a meeting called not to resolve "concrete disputes" but to analyze, within a group of all European states, Canada, and the United States, the most vital issues of fundamental importance for peace and security in Europe and the world. After all, Article XXIV of the Lateran Treaty permits the Holy See to participate even in international meetings to discuss "worldly disputes," provided that "the parties call on" its conciliatory mission. It is true that it is difficult to talk about the Holy See's "conciliatory mission" at the CSCE (although the Holy See actually played such a role at some conferences), but it is nonetheless a fact that the text of the Budapest appeal also reached the Vatican with a normal invitation to take part in the advance work and in the conference itself.

This was emphasized by the official commentary of Vatican Radio broadcast on the second anniversary of the signing of the final document of the CSCE in Helsinki. During the broadcast, the following statement was made, among others:

"At the express wish of many countries the Holy See took part in Helsinki not as a European state but as an institution of a spiritual and religious nature on a universal and world scale. Among the basic factors which inclined the Holy See to sign the agreement, we should mention not only the great significance of proper relations among the individual countries in the interest of peace and detente in the world, that is, not only its political aspect, but also, primarily, the moral and human aspect, which was the subject of the Conference on Security and Peace among the nations of Europe."²⁹

The Holy See participated in all stages of the CSCE, vitally committing its moral prestige to broadening and deepening understanding among its participants. The fact that the secretary of the Council for the Church's Public Affairs, Archbishop A. Casaroli, who represented the Pope at the CSCE in Helsinki, chaired the first session of the conference (30 July 1975) is elevated to the rank of a symbol. The Holy See played a positive role in preparing the conference documents³⁰ and signed the final document in Helsinki in the conviction that it was putting in "a certain premise, a certain moral and political basis favorable to its further fruitful development in relations between countries and between governments and nations."

The Holy See is also taking part in the meeting in Belgrade, and the under-secretary of the Council for the Church's Public Affairs, A. Silvestrini, who is representing the Pope, stated the Vatican's vital interest in the questions of security and cooperation in Europe. Among other things, he stated the following:

"Today, more than 2 years since the CSCE, the Holy See confirms its vital interest in the provisions of the Helsinki final document and wishes them all to be applied in full and even expanded in practice. Our delegation in particular supports all the undertakings tending to promote knowing one another, mutual dialogue, and understanding on the level of both bilateral and multilateral relations among the participating parties, and at the same time proposes that after the Belgrade meeting there be further periodic meetings providing an occasion to monitor and develop the dynamic creative process initiated by the CSCE. We should particularly like to emphasize the need for effective implementation of the means of building mutual trust. Here I should like to express the Holy See's great uneasiness over the absence of concrete agreements in the realm of arms reduction, without which there can be no talk of effective security."³¹

The Vatican representative also emphasized the great significance of the peaceful resolution of disputes and respect for human rights, including freedom of religion.

The Holy See's participation in the CSCE and the Belgrade meeting are one of the most spectacular examples of commitment to the process of detente and cooperation in Europe and the world. Supplementing this commitment are the peace declarations of the Holy See, its concrete initiative concerning the peaceful resolution of disputes and conflicts, its support for disarmament initiatives, its support for international cooperation, and also the criticism and condemnation expressed against those events and phenomena whose escalation threatens to increase international tension (for example, the phenomena of terrorism, apartheid, and so on).

The Vatican and International Organizations

In closing it is worth mentioning the Vatican's ever-increasing involvement in a universal form of cooperation among nations, international organizations. The Holy See and the Vatican State are both members of many international organizations. Membership is a consequence of the fact that both of them have *ius contrahendi*. The Holy See is a member of the World Tourism Organization, the Council for Cultural Cooperation in the European Council, and a participant in the work of the office of the U.N. High Commission for Refugees. Through the membership of the Vatican City, the Holy See is present in a number of other international organizations, including specialized U.N. organizations: the International Telecommunication Union, the Universal Postal Union, and the International Atomic Energy Agency.

In addition, the Holy See has permanent observers to some international organizations, for example, in the United Nations, the Food and Agriculture Organization, UNESCO, and the EEC, and it takes part, in various ways, in the work of other organizations.

The Holy See's cooperation with the United Nations is worthy of special note. The very idea of the organization was basically supported even by Pope Pius XII, at least by declaration. Explicitly it was supported in "Pacem in Terris" by Pope John XXIII. This support has also been expressed many times by Pope Paul VI during audiences granted to the Secretary General of the United Nations (both U Thant and Kurt Waldheim). In 1965, on the 25th anniversary of the United Nations, Pope Paul VI personally went to New York, in order to take part in the deliberations of the 20th session of the U.N. General Assembly and emphasize the organization's contributions to world peace. In 1964 the Holy See appointed a permanent papal observer to the United Nations in New York, and in 1967 one was appointed to the European headquarters of the United Nations in Geneva. The Holy See takes part in the work of a number of specialized organizations and agencies of the United Nations, in economic development programs, in educational and cultural campaigns, and in the work of international conferences organized by the United Nations and its bodies.

FOOTNOTES

1. The name "Vatican" is mainly a political term rather than a legal one. It is usually used to denote the leadership of the Catholic Church. Alongside the political element, this term also includes the element of the material foundations of this authority, that is, the whole group of institutions and buildings, along with the territory on which they are located. The use of this term in the context of a "subject of international law" is imprecise and improper, because the subject of this law is not the Vatican but the Holy See and the state of the Vatican City.
2. Although contrary views are also expressed in this regard. P. Eserson created the basis for them: "Diritto diplomatico e giurisdizione internazionale marittima col commento della disposizione della Legge italiana del 13 maggio sulle relazioni della S. Sede colle potenze straniere," Roma, 1876, pp 37, 50-51, 79-80.
3. The Holy See also took part in a U.N. conference on the law of the treaties in Vienna in 1968-1969 and signed and ratified a text of the convention (regulating legal problems of entering into agreements only between states). It was pulled out of the group "of other subjects of international law" and was treated "as a state."
4. Viz on this subject J. Czaja's "Institutional Forms of Operation of the Vatican Diplomacy," SPRAWY MIĘDZYNARODOWE, 1976, No 1, pp 94-104.
5. A number of authors, including recognized authorities in international law, such as L. Oppenheim, H. Lauterpacht: "International Law; a Treatise" London, 1958, p 256, do not have such reservations. In the Polish literature, viz: L. Antonowicz: "Pojęcia Państwa w Prawie Międzynarodowym" [The Concept of the State in International Law], Warsaw, 1974, pp 89 and 157.
6. Viz: Canon 267 paragraph 1 point of the codex of canonical law. Viz also: I. Cardinale "Le Saint-Siège et la diplomatie," Paris, 1962, pp 13 and 14.
7. Viz: Encyclical "Pacem in Terris," Point 67.
8. DIE PRESSE, 2-22 December 1974.
9. Papal encyclicals "Quod apostolici muneris" (1878), "Diuturnum Illud" (1881), "Immortale Dei" (1885), and "Rerum Novarum" (1885).
10. A. Reiss: "Structures of the Political Movement of Christian Democracy" in "Polityczne i ideologiczne problemy współczesnej chrześcijańskiej demokracji" [Political and ideological problems of contemporary Christian Democracy], Warsaw, 1974, p 113.

11. Up until now with the socialist countries the Holy See has signed only so-called partial agreements regulating a specific sphere of issues and modus vivendi.
12. For example, the ACLI (Christian Association of Italian Employees), Coldiretti (Confederation of Private Peasant Farmers).
13. ZYCIE I MYSL, 1976, No 3, pp 106-107.
14. ZYCIE I MYSL, 1976, No 7-8, p 199.
15. Ibidem, p 199-200.
16. Viz: TRYBUNA LUDU, 7 November 1977.
17. For a broader discussion of the concordat draft, viz: Z. Czajkowski in ZYCIE I MYSL, 1977, No 7-8, pp 9-11.
18. ZYCIE I MYSL, 1975, No 5, p 146.
19. ZYCIE I MYSL, 1975, No 10, p 115.
20. Viz: I. Krasicki: "Christian Democracy in International Life," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, 1973, No 10, p 69.
21. Viz: ZYCIE I MYSL, 1977, No 3, p 132.
22. Viz: "Sviluppi dell'Ostpolitik Vaticana," RELAZIONI INTERNAZIONALI, No 47, 1976, p 1113.
23. Viz: "Santa Sede, Bulgaria e URSS," RELAZIONI INTERNAZIONALI, 1975, No 27, pp 667-668.
24. Viz: K. Doroszewski: "Rhodesia; the Church vis-a-vis Apartheid," ZYCIE I MYSL, 1977, Nos 3 and 4.
25. ZYCIE I MYSL, 1977, No 5, p 126.
26. Viz: SLOWO POWSZECHNE, 25 November 1975.
27. Viz: CIVILTA CATTOLICA, 1974, No 2984, p 188.
28. Viz: ZYCIE I MYSL, 1975, No 4, p 125.
29. Cit ZYCIE I MYSL, 1977, No 9, p 120.
30. Viz on this subject "La Conferenza per la Sicurezza e la Cooperazione Europea," CIVILTA CATTOLICA, 1974, No 2966, pp 190-196.
31. L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO, 8 October 1977.

ROMANIA

'AGERPRES' COMMENTS ON GERMAN LANGUAGE PRESS IN ROMANIA

Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0950 GMT 19 May 78 AU

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, [no dateline] The history of over 200 years of the German-language press in Romania is extensively presented in a collection of studies headlined "the time in newspaper" published in German in the Dacia Publishing House of Cluj-Napoca by a group coordinated by historians Eduard Eisenburger and Michael Kroner.

The authors insist mainly upon the political role of the German publicist's work in the Banat and Transylvania, upon its contribution to moulding the Germans in Romania as [a] nationality. The book supplies many data on the Romanians' political and cultural life and good relations between the German nationality and the Romanian people.

Among the studies included in the book, noteworthy is that concerning the first-issued German-language newspaper in the Banat in 1771 under the heading "Stiri Timisorene" (news from Timisoara). The beginning of the German-language cultural press in Transylvania--the authors write--are linked to the publication of "Saptamina Teatrala" (The Theatre Week) in Sibiu in 1778.

A special chapter deals with the publishing activity of Saxons and Germans of the Banat on the eve and during the 1848 democratic bourgeois revolution.

Mentioning that in the period until 1944, among the most representative German-language press organs were "Gazeta Brasovului" (The Gazette of Brasov) and "Cotidianul Germanilor Din Ardeal" (The Daily of Ardeal Germans), the authors highlight that approaching the problems of the population they wrote for, they also dwelt on promoting relations of good co-existence and friendship, with the Romanian people, fact also proved by the way in which they mirrored the 1877-1878 independence war or the union of Transylvania with Romania in 1918.

At the end of the last century, concomitantly with the development of the working-class movement, the first socialist publications in German are

brought out in Romania, among which "Vointa Poporului" (People's Will), "Lupta" (The Struggle), "Cuvintul Liber" (The Free Word), standing out through their anti-imperialist and anti-fascist stand, the authors write.

The last chapter, very comprehensive, highlights the active role of the present-day German-language press in Romania--publications that come out in Bucharest or in other centres where German-speaking population lives. Worth mentioning in the first place is the daily NEUER WEG of the Socialist Unity front, the first central press organ, addressing the Saxons of Transylvania, the Swabians of the Banat and other German-speaking readers throughout the country, then the organ of the writers' union, "Neue Literatur," well known in the literary circles in the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, Austria and Switzerland, "Volk und Kultur," NEUE BANATER ZEITUNG in Timisoara, DIE KARPATENRUNDSCHAU in Brasov, DIE WOCHE in Sibiu, the numerous radio and television broadcasts in German.

CSO: 2020

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU GRANTS INTERVIEW TO ITALY'S 'IL POPOLO'

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 May 78 pp 1,6 AU

[Text of interview granted by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu to IL POPOLO journalist Arturo Pellegrini 12 May in Bucharest]

[Text as already reported, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, granted an interview to Italian journalist Arturo Pellegrini, foreign policy commentator of IL POPOLO newspaper, 12 May 1978.

Question: Mr President, referring to Romania's economic situation you recently stressed that Romania will pass the stage of a developing country by 1985. What measures do you believe are necessary to achieve this goal?

Answer: I want to mention first of all that the Romanian people are carrying out sustained activity aimed at the countrys intensive socioeconomic development and at improving its general well-being. As a result, industry has developed in recent years at a rate of some 12 percent. Remarkable results have also been achieved in agriculture, science, education and culture have progressed; and the peoples material and cultural living standard has improved. Eloquent in this respect is the fact in the current five-year plan--1976-80--the working people's real income will increase some 32 percent.

Although during the years of building the new social system industry has experienced an increase of more than 35 times over, Romania continues to be a developing country. Taking this into consideration, the 11th party congress envisaged in its long-term program up to 1990 that Romania should catch up with or come considerably close to the economically developed countries in this period. The party's national conference of last December formulated the guidelines for the 1981-85 five-year plan. It was believed within this framework that by the end of the next five-year plan Romania will have passed the stage of developing country, thus becoming a medium-developed country. We take into consideration the fact that the national per capita income should amount to some \$2,500-2,600 and that the per capita output of certain basic products should come close to the level of the advanced states. As a matter of fact, already during the current five-year plan steel output, for

example, will amount to some 700 kilograms per capita, cement will amount to some 800 kilograms and electrical power to almost 3,500 kW/h while grain will amount to some 1,000 kilograms per capita. We will record considerable progress in other sectors as well.

What we have in mind is to accentuate this process in the next five-year plan and to create powerful material bases for the progress of the entire society. However, this alone would not be enough. We also have in mind the improvement of scientific research and technology, education, cadre training and cultural activity to a greater extent on the basis of developing the forces of production and the general improvement of the awareness of all people. We will also act to improve the leadership activity and the framework for the people's democratic participation in the management of all sectors of activity and of the whole of society.

As you see, we view Romania's transition to a higher development stage not only from an economic viewpoint but also from a general social one, including the sphere of socialist democracy--of the people's conscious and effective participation in shaping their destiny. This makes us continue the policy we have practiced thus far--to allocate approximately one-third of the national income for development purposes. Practice has shown that only thus can we insure the country's development at a high rate and an improved material and cultural living standard for the people.

It is understandable that depending on our people's strength and work we also take into consideration expanding economic and scientific-technical cooperation with all states of the world, regardless of social system. We proceed from the fact that only on the basis of broadly developing international cooperation--certainly on the basis of the principles of equality, respect for independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs-- will be able to insure each country's progress and peace and world security.

Question: Mr President, recently you said that economic planning and the working people's profit sharing are closely linked and you mentioned a new remuneration in accordance with the quality and quantity of work performed. What do you understand by this concept which has caused a great sensation in Italy as well?

Answer: Our country's experience of almost 30 years of planned economy demonstrates the very fact that unitary planning and management in Romania have permitted us to concentrate our efforts in the direction of developing the forces of production at a sustained rate, as well as material production and the people's well-being.

As a result, great changes have taken place in Romania. This requires the adoption of new measures to improve economic leadership and planning activity and to create an optimal framework for the participation by the masses in the leadership of all economic sectors. For this purpose, we have set up the working people's councils--as collective leadership bodies of economic and

social units--with at least 75 percent of their activity being carried out by workers and foremen directly active in the production process.

We have institutionalized the working people's general meetings as bodies that decide on essential problems of socio-economic activity. Recently we decided to improve the economic financial system in the sense of broadening the rights and tasks of enterprises, of increasing workers' self-management [autoconducere] and self-administration [autogestione] in economic units. The measures that have been taken have in view each enterprise formulating its own activity plan, having its own budget of incomes and expenditures and being responsible for the proper progress of socioeconomic activity. Certainly all this is part of the single national plan on the society's development.

At the same time we deemed it necessary to improve remuneration which is based on the appropriate socialist principles: each one receives according to the quantity and quality of work performed, according to the contribution made to the society's general development.

I have already mentioned that during the current five-year plan remuneration will increase more than 32 percent. At the same time, we intend to create a new form of profit sharing for workers. Part of the profit achieved by the given enterprise will be used by the enterprises for its own development, and part of it will be distributed among the personnel in keeping with its participation in the activity of the given economic unit. This is greater incentive for the working people in each unit to contribute to the proper progress of the economic activity in their capacity as owners of the means of production and producers and direct consumers of everything that is being achieved. Thus, apart from direct remuneration, the working people will be able to share some of the profit that are being achieved by the given enterprise.

Question: Mr President, this year Romania is celebrating the 60th anniversary of the creation of the single national state. What does the settlement of the nationality problem mean for Romania?

Answer: The formation process of the Romanian nation and of the single national state has been a long and difficult process.

It was preceded by hundreds of years of struggle against foreign domination. The national state was formed in 1859 as a result of the unification of two Romanian principalities which won their independence in the wake of the 1877 war of independence. Romania participated in World War I because it wanted to defend its independence and to achieve complete national unity. Therefore, at the end of 1918--on the basis of the decision by the broad people's masses in Transylvania and in accordance with the desire of all people--the single national state was formed. Certainly, this victory was favored by the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution and by the fall of the Hungarian-Austrian Empire which, as is known, resulted in the formation of

numerous independent national states in central and south-east Europe, including the Romanian single national state.

Following this event, such nationalities as Hungarians, Germans, Serbs and a smaller proportion of other nationalities remained on Romanian soil. I do want to refer to the time between the two world wars when the policy of Romanian leadership circles was characterized by many abuses, discriminations and inequalities toward the nationalities. What I want to mention is that the Communist Party and other democratic and progressive forces existing in Romania were always against any discrimination of a national, racial, religious or other nature; they were for full equal rights among all the fatherlands citizens, without any distinction; they carried out sustained activity against the abuses by the bourgeois-landowner regime.

Along with socialist construction, the nationality problem was resolved in a democratic manner, thus all working people, irrespective of nationality, are insured equal rights in all fields. These rights are included in the country's constitution and in all laws. They are being implemented on the basis of the economic development of the forces of production in all areas throughout the country, thus creating conditions for all citizens to have secure work places and on the basis of equal remuneration, in keeping with the activity carried out, for all working people, irrespective of nationality or sex. The same remuneration is received for the same work in Bucharest and in the most remote cities of communes. Whoever visits our country is able to note the forceful development of industry, agriculture and of the other sectors of socioeconomic life throughout the country and, linked with this, he is able to note appropriate conditions for an extensive cultural and intellectual life for all citizens. All schooling is free. We have generally applied 10-year compulsory education and by 1990 we will generalize the gymnasiums.

Each nationality is able to study in its own language in general education and in gymnasiums. At the same time, we also have higher educational institutes in the Hungarian language in which young people are able to study in their own mother tongue. The number of Hungarian and German schools is in proportion to the number of people: Thus we insure the basis for each person to study in his own language. A great number of text books and all kinds of books are being published in the language of the coinhabiting nationalities. Newspapers are published in the language of the coinhabiting nationalities. These people have 14 theaters available, of which 10 are in Hungarian, 3 are in German and one is in Yiddish. Thus one can state that we have achieved conditions for full, equal rights in Romania, conditions for the participation of the citizens, irrespective of nationality, in the entire socioeconomic and cultural activity, including their participation in state leadership.

The nationalities are represented in the country's leadership bodies. In the Grand National Assembly, the government, the party leadership and mass organizations, in the people's councils and practically in all sectors.

As I have stated before, we would like nationalities to enjoy at least the same rights in all countries as they do in Romania.

Question: Mr President, what do you think of the talks you recently conducted in the United States and how do you view East-West relations in light of the recent evolution of the international situation--the Middle East and Horn of Africa? Do you believe that conditions exist today for peace in the Middle East?

Answer: The visit I paid in April to the United States and the talks I conducted with President Carter and other members of the administration and with broad circles of businessmen, with political, scientific and cultural figures have shown both the good relations existing between Romania and the United States and our mutual desire to continue to act in the direction of expanding relations in all fields. In fact, the communique and the joint declaration we signed, with President Carter confirm this desire by Romania and the United States. I can indeed state that the visit marked an important moment in developing relations between Romania and the United States.

Certainly, along with discussions on bilateral problems, we discussed and exchanged views on a broad range of international problems such as the problems of European security, of disarmament, of the new international economic order and on those regarding certain areas of tension and conflict as, for instance, the Middle East and Africa. It is obvious that some of these problems are broached in a different manner considering the different positions of our countries. Nevertheless, we reached the conclusion that efforts must be made to resolve disputes by negotiations, in conformity with the interests of all states.

As far as the Middle East problem is concerned, we believe that the present situation maintains the danger of new tension that can aggravate the conflict and bring about deeply negative consequences. At the same time, we believe that there are possibilities for achieving a lasting and just peace in that area. We view and have viewed President As-Sadat's visit to Israel as an historically important event that has given an impetus to the process of peace and has clarified many things in the international position of many states. I must say that this has hastened the very process of clarifying positions in Israel. Despite the fact that Israel's response and that by Premier Begin was not up to President As-Sadat's initial expectations, despite the fact that Israel's position is still rigid, thus hampering the achievement of tangible results, I think that the peace process will continue. One must do everything both to insure the continuation of negotiations between Egypt and Israel and to create the appropriate international framework--perhaps by resuming the Geneva conference--that will permit the participation in the negotiations by Syria, Jordan and, of course, by the Palestinian people in the most real and authentic manner.

Under such conditions, despite the obstacles that must be overcome, I believe that a global peace can be achieved that will lead to Israel's withdrawal

from the Arab territories occupied in the 1967 war, to the recognizing of the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people, including their right to set up their own state, and that will also lead to the establishment of relations of peaceful cooperation among all countries and to insuring the integrity and sovereignty of each state.

Question: This is the eve of the special UN General Assembly session on disarmament. Since you, Mr President, have several times expressed the desire for new and efficient measures in this field, what are the proposals Romania is going to present at this session?

Answer: Romania believes that the arms race that has reached huge proportions presents a very serious danger for the peace and security of the whole of mankind and for socioeconomic development and for improving the people's well-being. Therefore, we have advocated and are advocating with all our determination disarmament and primarily nuclear disarmament. We have supported and in a sense we are among the initiators of convening the UN General Assembly session. Therefore, we would like the special session that will begin soon to mark a turning point in the direction of disarmament. We understand well that no decisions for immediate disarmament can be adopted in this direction, but we believe that principled guiding decisions can be taken, that an organizational framework can be created that will permit the implementation of disarmament measures in the coming years.

Soon we will publish a decision by our party on disarmament. We plan to propose that the UN General Assembly ask all states to freeze--so to speak--armament and military forces this year and to proceed in the coming years--in the first stage up to 1985--to reducing military expenditures, armaments and military forces at least 10-15 percent. We believe that the sums of money that would be achieved by applying these measures could be spent in a proportion of some 50 percent by each state for its economic development and for improving the living standard of its own people, while 50 percent could be allocated for the developing countries, primarily for those with a per capita national income of \$400-500.

Certainly, our proposals refer to eliminating military blocs and foreign military bases, to the withdrawal of foreign military troops from the territories of other countries, to the commitment not to use nuclear arms, to act so that all disputes among states are resolved by negotiations and to other measures. We want the UN session to strengthen trust, to assert the peoples' and states' desire for practical measures in the direction of disarmament.

We are ready to cooperate in this respect with all states; we hope that in this respect cooperation between Romania and Italy will contribute to achieving positive results.

Question: What is your opinion on the so-called Eurocommunism and how should the RCP message extended to the PCE [Spanish Communist Party] be interpreted?

Answer: As I have already mentioned, under different circumstances, we view the concept of Eurocommunism as an assertion of the desire by certain communist parties in Western Europe to act to resolve socioeconomic problems and to proceed toward their own manner of democratic development, toward communism in the given countries, a development that will be in keeping with the concrete historic conditions and with the traditions of the respective peoples.

It is obvious that the conditions in Romania were different from those, for instance, in Italy, France, Spain and so forth. The forms of socialist construction in Romania cannot be copied or repeated by any means by the parties in these countries. There are certainly general principles as, for instance, the need for social equity and justice that must be achieved by any means, however, the forms of doing so cannot be identical because there are differences in the development of these countries. Proceeding from this, we believe that the manner in which certain parties in Western Europe approach this problem is in keeping with the conditions under which the respective peoples live, it is in keeping with the realities of these peoples. As a matter of fact, we cannot conceive of any party, especially a communist party, practicing a different policy than that which is in keeping with the interests of the respective people, thus insuring the strengthening of the country's independence and sovereignty, ever better living conditions for the working people and their direct participation in the society's leadership and in shaping their own destiny.

This is how I understand the concept of Eurocommunism. I can only appreciate the efforts aimed at seeking an appropriate solution for the complex problems confronting various states and at establishing relations among peoples based on equality and respect for independence, on security and peace in Europe and throughout the world.

This is how the message extended by the RCP to the PCE Congress must be viewed.

Question: Mr President, you have expressed your indignation at Aldo Moro's cruel assassination and have often condemned, in the past, the sad phenomenon of terrorism. I would like you to summarize Romania's position on this serious phenomenon of terrorism.

Answer: I knew Aldo Moro personally. I especially appreciated his honesty and integrity and his concern with Italy's democratic development and with achieving new democratic relations among peoples. Within this framework I appreciated the contribution he has made to developing relations of friendship between Romania and Italy.

Therefore, Aldo Moro's cowardly and indeed barbarian assassination has stirred in me and the Romanian people deep indignation and disapproval. We condemn this action which is completely inexplicable and which must be forcefully disapproved.

As for the problem of terrorism generally, our communist party and revolutionary movement have always disapproved of and condemned any form of terrorist acts. Under no circumstances can terrorism be a form of political struggle. Irrespective of the problems that must be resolved in one country or another, terrorism can only complicate things and, in the last instance, hamper the solution of problems. We believe that the phenomenon of terrorism that was obvious and has accentuated in past years must be disapproved of and condemned with all determination. Certainly, one must examine the causes of this phenomenon so as to act to eliminate them, but, irrespective of this, terrorist acts cannot be justified and approved of by any means.

Question: Mr President, soon you will travel to China, North Korea and other Asian countries. What is the purpose of these visits?

Answer: The visit I will pay to the PRC, the DPRK, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea is part of Romania's concern to develop relations with all socialist countries and with all states throughout the world. It will be a visit of friendship aimed at identifying new opportunities to develop bilateral cooperation in various fields with the respective countries, and, certainly, to exchange views on various problems of international life; it is aimed at strengthening cooperation and collaboration in resolving these problems in a democratic manner in the interest of peace and international cooperation.

Question: What do you think of relations between Italy and Romania? What do you think should be done to continue to develop them both at a political and economic, cultural and humanitarian level?

Answer: I would like to mention with satisfaction that relations between Romania and Italy have experienced continuous progress in the past years. Actually, Italy holds one of the first places in Romania's international economic exchange. Despite this, we believe that there are still great opportunities both for expanding trade exchange and especially for achieving broader production sharing, including cooperation in joint companies. We want to achieve such actions with other states as well, especially with the developing countries.

At the same time, we have achieved good results and there are prospects of expanding cooperation in the field of science and culture and of intensifying contacts of every kind, including contacts between the citizens of our countries. What we have achieved thus far insures the further expansion of cooperation, taking into consideration, of course, many joint things in the historical past and present of our countries. Although Romania and Italy still belong to different military blocs, I think that this cannot be an impediment in expanding cooperation in all fields. The rapprochement between people, including the cultural field, can be an important factor in surmounting tension and achieving a policy of equality and cooperation among all world states.

Question: Now when the Italian people are grieved because of Aldo Moro's loss, do you want to extend a message to the Italian people?

Answer: As I have mentioned, we disapprove of and condemn Aldo Moro's mean assassination. We share the sorrow of the friendly Italian people for this loss. However, I want to express our trust that the Italian people, the country's democratic forces will know how to surmount this difficult moment by strengthening cooperation and their unity in struggle for eliminating these phenomena and by acting for Italy's democratic development and for ever better living conditions and the advancement of the people.

Together with our feelings of compassion for the Italian people and Aldo Moro's family, I wish all Italian people success in their socioeconomic development, as well as well-being and happiness!

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU INTERVIEWED BY LONDON 'SUNDAY TELEGRAPH'

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 May 78 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Nicolae Ceausescu by London SUNDAY TELEGRAPH]

[Text] As has been announced, on 9 May 1978 president of the Socialist Republic of Romania Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu received newsman George Brook Shepherd, deputy editor in chief of the UK's SUNDAY TELEGRAPH, to whom he gave the following interview:

Question: Mr President, what is the ratio between industry and agriculture in your country? I noticed that the Romanian emblem carries an oil derrick and a bunch of wheat. I would be interested to know to what extent the agricultural sector will be reduced in favor of industry, and what problems might appear as a result of this policy?

Answer: When Romania began building the socialist society, it decided to insure the harmonious development of the production forces, and to establish a sound material base, with a view to raising the level of civilization of the country and the people's material and intellectual living standard. We view both agriculture and industry as basic branches of the Romanian economy, and hence, we think that both should be developed appropriately. However, the production forces and the economy in general cannot develop rapidly unless the industry progresses rapidly, on the basis of the technological and scientific state of the art. This is why we paid and continue paying special attention to developing our industry. As a result of this policy, industrial production has increased 38 times compared with the most productive year of the pre-war period. As for the oil derrick on the emblem, we wish it were bigger, but unfortunately, our oil reserves are low.

We are also paying particular attention to agriculture. In consequence, our agricultural output is almost three times that of the best pre-war years. We are making great efforts to expand the irrigation system and to achieve land ameliorations. For example, while in 1960 we had about 200,000 hectares of irrigated land, by 1980 we will have 3 million hectares. The

major agricultural branches have almost been mechanized, and by 1980 all agriculture will be almost completely mechanized. We have greatly developed the production of chemical fertilizers and other substances necessary for agriculture. Thus, in absolute terms, the agricultural sector has developed and will continue to develop, and will receive all due attention so as to continuously increase agricultural production. However, with the development of industry, the share of agriculture in the national income and in the country's general production will decrease.

Question: Have any social problems emerged as a result of this industrialization process? Has there been a migration from agricultural areas to factories, as has happened in other countries?

Answer: Undoubtedly, industrialization is causing radical changes in the social structure of the country, so that the number of workers is growing and that of people employed in agriculture is decreasing. Naturally this leads to migration from villages to the cities. Within the framework of our policy of developing the production forces, we are paying great attention to distributing the industry and other economic branches throughout the country's territory, thus preventing great concentration in a small number of centers and raising the general level of civilization in our country. Nevertheless, certain problems do appear, especially in training the manpower and providing housing. However, we endeavor to solve these problems by appropriately organizing and developing the educational system and accelerating housing construction.

Question: Mr President, last year I discussed the same problem with President al-Sadat, and he said he has great problems as a result of the migration to Cairo. Do you have the same problem with Bucharest?

Answer: We do not have such problems. On the one hand, due to the equal distribution of the production forces throughout the territory, we are creating working conditions for all citizens, in all areas, and on the other hand, due to the organization of the educational system, we have insured schooling for all citizens. People doing the same job receive the same income, whether they work in Bucharest or in other cities, even in the most remote communes. At the same time, residence in Bucharest requires certain permit formalities.

Question: Please allow me to ask what is the truth in connection with the situation in Transylvania, and with the position of the Hungarian nationality. We sometimes read in the Western press that there is allegedly discontent among this nationality, or that there are demands for greater liberties.

Answer: Indeed, there also are many untruths about the Romanian realities in the Western press. Certainly, not all of them are creditable, but unfortunately, one may still come across pieces of information in some newspapers containing inaccurate and sometimes--why not say it--even biased assertions.

But it is a fact that all the citizens of Romania, whatever their nationality, enjoy every right stipulated in the constitution, in the country's laws. For these rights to be real, we have distributed the forces of production throughout the country's territory and all the citizens of Romania are given opportunities to work. I am thinking both of the counties where there are also working people of Magyar, German or Serbian nationalities and in other counties which used to be economically backward.

In the past 10 years more particularly, a strong industry and other sectors of activity have been developed in these areas.

It is true that a Western newspaper wrote that industrialization would be harmful to the nationalities because it changed the backward rural environment by developing a new industrial civilized one and so traditions might be lost. If this is discrimination, then we apply to the Romanians, the Magyars and the Germans alike for we do want to abolish backwardness and make the most up-to-date enterprises in all the fields of activity, education, science and culture accessible to all the working people, the whole youth. Education is free for all young people in our country without discrimination. Ten-year schooling for the youth has been compulsory for 4 years now. Now, 50 percent of the young are enrolled in lyceums--the second stage--and we intend to have the whole youth enrolled in lyceums by 1990. Higher learning, too, is open to every youth without distinction as to nationality or race subject to the country's development requirements. The young people of Magyar, German or other nationalities can learn in schools where tuition is in their mother-tongues. At the same time, in these schools--and I am referring to general education--about 25 percent of the classes are for teaching Romanian. In technical and vocational schools, technical subjects are taught mainly in Romanian, but between 60 and 70 percent of the classes according to their speciality, are in the mother tongue. At the same time, the acquisition of two more foreign languages is compulsory in our education.

There are faculties and institutes where instruction is in Hungarian and there are also special classes where teaching is in this language. In Romania there are 10 Magyar-language theatres, 3 German-language theatres and 1 where performances are in Yiddish. There are almost 3,000 artistic and cultural teams performing in Hungarian, 650 in German and others in the languages of other nationalities. There are 32 Magyar-language newspapers and magazines and eight issues in German, almost 2.5 million books are published in the languages of the coinhabiting nationalities. In proportion to the population their percentage is by no means below the ones in Romanian. On the contrary, it is higher.

Question: Mr President, please allow me to express my opinion that, in regard to the nationalities, the essential issue is the nationalistic spirit of the Hungarians. I have written two books dealing with the Hapsburg Empire. It seems that the Austrians were also unhappy about this nationalistic spirit.

Answer: I must say that the atmosphere among the whole population of Romania is very good. This is the result of the way in which we have solved the questions both for the nationalities and for the entire people, of the fact that all the working people do have the opportunity to fully assert their personality in all fields of activity according to everyone's capabilities. It is true that there are elements--quite few, indeed--that have a chauvinistic, nationalist attitude, but such an attitude can be found not only among Magyars but also among some Romanians, too.

Question: You have stated that as a statesman of international stature you are concerned with contributing to the safeguarding of world peace. At the present time, there is much talk about the threats to peace in the Middle East and about other similar dangers in other areas. In your opinion, what is the situation in Europe? Is there not a great danger to our continent? How do you see it?

Answer: Indeed, one can say that international life continues to be rather complicated. In my opinion, during the past year we have seen a certain worsening of the international situation. This worsening has been brought about by a certain intensification of the competition for a new division of zones of influence and domination in various parts of the world. Its effects were--to a certain extent--obvious during the Belgrade Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe as well. As a matter of fact, the conference did not conclude with the results the European peoples had expected, one may say that it was somehow a step back compared to Helsinki.

New means of destruction, including atomic weapons are piling up in Europe, the armed forces are developing, aggravating the situation of the continent. If we consider the armament concentration, the two opposing military blocs, foreign troops and bases on the territories of other states one may say that in fact Europe is the continent with the most serious situation, the continent where there are the greatest dangers for a new war to break out that could jeopardize the whole mankind. That being so, greater efforts must be made to translate into life the document signed in Helsinki. We consider the provisions for economic, technical and scientific cooperation and the cultural and humanitarian questions to be equally significant and everything must be done to carry them into effect.

At the same time, there are military questions to which greater attention should be paid, by taking firm measures to reduce arming in Europe and throughout the world. Unless this is achieved it is difficult to speak of security and peace in Europe and in the world. Although so many complex questions have been piling up, I consider that there are real prospects for this state of affairs to be surmounted for collaboration and the course toward detente to be developed.

Question: Are there any special issues referring to security in which Romania has a particular interest? I have heard, for example, that you are interested in advance notice of large troop movements. Is this an action which would support your position?

Answer: As I mentioned earlier, in our opinion, it is essential for European security that all the provisions of the documents signed in Helsinki be implemented. But taking into account the specific situation in Europe, we consider it necessary that special attention should be paid to military questions. In this context we state our support for the concomitant abolition of the two military blocs--NATO and the Warsaw Pact--for the elimination of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of other states, for armament and force reduction measures for cutting down on military spending. Certainly, we are aware that all this cannot be achieved in a short time. Therefore, we consider that confidence-building measures can be adopted. I have in mind, among other things, the withdrawal of troops from the borders of states within a certain distance, renunciation of manoeuvres and wide-scope military demonstrations, especially in the border areas. Disarmament, nuclear disarmament in particular, is a fundamental requirement for international collaboration and the economic and social development of the peoples.

Question: Has the Romanian Government taken a stand on the production of the neutron bomb?

Answer: We are against any mass destruction weapons, hence against the neutrom-bomb manufacture, too.

Question: The following question refers to the situation in the Middle East, which I know well; I have been in Israel and Egypt many times. In your opinion, how seriously has the most recent crisis in Lebanon affected the prospects for peace in this area?

Answer: Undoubtedly, Israel's military actions in southern Lebanon have compounded the Middle East situation, have raised new obstacles to a peaceful settlement of this conflict. I must say that Premier Begin's response was not up to President Sadat's initiative. The question now is of an issue to the situation, by carrying into effect the declaration suggested by Egypt, by continuing the negotiations on the settlement of the complex questions in the Middle East. Conditions should be created for all states concerned--and this includes the PLO, the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people--to take part in the settlement of these questions, the resumption of the Geneva conference or by calling an international meeting on the Middle East conflict under the auspices of the United Nations Organization.

It is obvious that the guarantees for peace imply Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in 1967, as well as the settlement of the Palestinian question by recognizing the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the formation of an independent Palestinian state.

Question: In connection with England, how do you see our role in the world, Mr President? Do you think that we should take a more active role in international affairs? I would like to tell you that I am a member of the Conservative Party and that I am concerned when I see that in our country people are beginning to become isolated from the rest of the world.

Answer: I think that, in general, Great Britain holds a rather important place in today's world and has to play a significant part in solving the complex international problems. Of course, the issues of the contemporary world cannot be solved only by a few countries. It is necessary that all states, irrespective of their size or social system, take part in settling them in a democratic way, to the interest of guaranteeing the independence and sovereignty of all nations, of international collaboration and peace.

In this respect, I think that Great Britain, very much like other peoples, has to play an important part. We should like our countries actively to cooperate on an international plane for the assertion of the principles of equality, for the observance of each nation's right to a free, independent development.

Question: Mr President, we are about the same age. If we are lucky we will see the year 2000. What do you hope to see in that year--a safer, better world?

Answer: I am convinced that many positive changes will be produced in international life during the next 2 decades. This conviction stems from the fact that peoples are becoming ever more aware both of the dangers threatening them and of the force they have at their disposal to abolish the policy of dictate, of interference in other states' home affairs and to establish democratic relations which should favour the development of all nations and their close collaboration on principles of full equality.

Question: Mr President, what is your view of Eurocommunism? We, in the West, see it as a danger for the Western democracies but it seems that it is also interpreted as a danger for the traditional communist countries. In what terms do you see it? As a danger only for some or also for others?

Answer: First of all, as concerns the concept of Eurocommunism, I understand it as the assertion of an independent stand of the communist parties in the West in elaborating a policy based on the historical, economic and social realities, apt to ensure the respective countries' democratic development towards socialism. As for the transition to socialism of certain states, and this includes the Western states, it is a historical necessity from the point of view of social development. Sooner or later, they will come to it. What the communist parties and certain socialist parties in the West propose to do, in their cooperation, is precisely to see that this transition is achieved in keeping with the realities and the will of the respective peoples. It is but natural. I cannot see why this should be a danger to Western Europe and, I can see even less, how this could be a threat to the socialist countries or to Romania more specifically. On the contrary, a democratic solution of the problems of social development, which should take into account the needs of the broad masses in one country or another cannot but serve the economic and social progress, independence, peace and collaboration of peoples.

Question: In the West, the Americans see a problem in the fact that should Eurocommunism come to power in those countries, their governments can no longer participate in NATO.

Answer: I see no grounds for worry. It would be of great advantage to dismantle both NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Question: Are you eagerly awaiting your visit to the United Kingdom of Great Britain?

Answer: Certainly, I am eagerly awaiting my visit to England. In addition, let me mention that in the last few years relations between the two countries have made considerable headway. I hope that, during my visit, we will find new ways for developing the economic, technological-scientific and cultural collaboration between Romania and Great Britain and exchange of opinions on international matters and on the means to strengthen the collaboration between our countries in order to contribute to solving those problems.

I should like to take advantage of this opportunity to wish the English people success in developing their homeland, prosperity and happiness.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

PROOFS OF CONTINUITY OF ROMANIAN PRESENCE REVIEWED

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 21 Apr 78 pp 1,4

[Article by Academician Em. Condurachi: "Ethnogenesis and National Historiography"]

[Text] The decisive importance of ethnogenesis studies in providing a basis for national historiography must be connected with the necessity of understanding some of the more complex phenomena in the process of the social, economic and cultural-artistic evolution and formation of a people. New documents of a historic, archeological or linguistic character have enriched the patrimony of knowledge of the extensive process of crystallization and development of human society on the present territory of our nation, and also in the neighboring territories whose multiple and varied connections with our history also constitute a problem of special importance.

No matter how rich the contributions made by each of these disciplines individually, it is impossible to comprehend their value and significance if they are not integrated into an overall vision capable of presenting, in all its articulations, developments in large areas over long periods on the one hand and, on the other hand, the evolution of our people, their culture and civilization, the role which they played in the framework of general history in Europe, and, in the final analysis, the penetration into the consciousness of men of traditions and truths, without which events or phenomena risk remaining, undeservedly, simple accidents or ephemeral occurrences.

Such an integration was undertaken using contributions made by historians, linguists, archeologists, ethnographers, folklorists, anthropologists and others, with such an integration offering the only way of being able to understand the ethnogenesis of our people in their dialectical development, in their historically true vision, and therefore capable of presenting the beginnings and the stages of development of the Romanian people in their ancient dwelling place and within the limits of the borders of our nation, which coincide -- and the fact must be emphasized right at the outset -- with the actual territorial limits of the Dacian people and later the medieval Romanian states, a space which also constitutes the territorial framework of our state today.

This integration is also necessary from another point of view. As long as the formation of the Romanian people -- and, even more, the formation of the Dacian people several centuries before -- was explained only with the aid of written historical information, regarding which it can be said that in the best of cases there were few examples and many gaps, the ethnogenesis of the Romanian people could not be understood on a comprehensive scientific basis nor appreciated in terms of its true value. This explains the fact that forty years ago a French historian of great fame, Fernand Lot, whose sympathy for the Romanian people could never be doubted, expressed his bewilderment in this regard through the title of a chapter on the history of our people in a work of great synthesis: "Une enigme et un miracle historique: le peuple roumain" [An Enigma and an Historical Miracle: The Romanian People]. The answers to this question were quickly provided from historians and from Romanian linguists, who pointed out at the time the way in which this miracle could be understood and how the so-called enigma could be unraveled. It is obvious that a clear and comprehensive answer in this regard can only be given, however, by a multidisciplinary study and by a precise, scientific weighing -- and what I call a calm, clear weighing without apriori conclusions or, in short, "sine ira et studio" -- of the value of the contribution of each individual discipline, with evaluation of the true significance of the historical, archeological, ethnographic, linguistic and other documents. Taken all together, these documents must be integrated into a strictly scientific synthesis. I stress the fact that a strictly scientific integration and interpretation would eliminate from discussion at the outset all those ephemeral and inoperative studies, or, more precisely put, those pseudostudies whose final purpose was and could be nothing other than the disturbance both of research and of the composure of the researchers. Perhaps even the disturbance of the people, at least to the extent to which such pseudoscientific manifestations still find an audience within the ranks of a certain public. In specifying at the outset the conditions for systematic and scientific study of the problem of the ethnogenesis of the Romanian people, it is necessary to add a fact that is fully accepted by all modern science, that is, use of analogies which can be made with the history of neighboring peoples, whose history took place in relatively contemporary periods and involved relatively similar phenomena.

Romanian archeologists, and also a number of highly-reputed foreign archeologists, have brought out the fact that at least in the sixth millenium B.C. human society on the territory of our nation passed from the paleolithic phase, founded on hunting and the collection of natural products, to the neolithic phase, founded on primitive cultivation of crops and domestication of animals. For at least three and a half millenia, the neolithic society on the territory of our nation went through stages of development and forms of civilization that were completely similar to those throughout Southeastern Europe. They had one initial common point, that is, direct contact with older and more extensive civilizations in Asia Minor. At the same time, however, they were distinguished by a development of their own which would result, especially in a later period, that of the late neolithic, in the brilliant civilization of painted pottery, illustrated especially by the painted pottery of the Cucuteni type, which represents a culmination of European civilization

during the fourth to third millenia B.C.

The end of this period coincides with the appearance on the territory of our nation and also throughout southeastern Europe of some tribes of a pastoral nature, considered by archeologists as representing the penetration of the first Indoeuropean tribes. According to older theories, this penetration would have caused the violent elimination of the ancient neolithic population. Newer studies have shown, however, that the penetration of these Indoeuropean tribes had the character of slow and long-duration infiltrations. For instance, to give a single example, pottery of the Cucuteni C type, which in technique and decoration contrasts with the splendid painted pottery of the Cucuteni A, A-B, and B types, appears sporadically at the beginning and then more frequently in phase A, therefore, chronologically speaking, from 4100 B.C. on. It reached predominance just a little after 2500 B.C., because in the centuries following right after we find the flowering of the Bronze Age, the time when we can speak of the genesis of the Thracian, Illyrian, and the first Greek tribes known in history as the Achaeans. The most important conclusion from this standpoint is as follows: the first wave of Greeks archeologically documented in Greece and in the islands in 2000 B.C. took over numerous words from the previous Neolithic population (all words ending in -nthos, as, for example, Corinthos, kyakinthos, etc.), as well as very interesting forms of culture and civilization, including the techniques of agricultural crop cultivation, which latter arrivals ignored. We can undoubtedly also draw conclusions in this regard for the northern branches of these tribes, the future Geto-Dacians, and also in respect to the Illyrians.

Even further, to stress the perfect parallelism in the ancient history of the Greeks on the one hand and the Thracians, Geto-Dacians and Illyrians on the other hand, in the historic evolution of all these tribes we find the appearance of some new archeological forms at the beginning of the Iron Age (Hallstatt Age), forms which can be explained by the appearance of a new Greek wave or a Thracian, Illyrian, Geto-Dacian wave. In the case of the Greeks, this involved the Dorians, whom we see installed in Greece after 1150 B.C. Within our country, the transition from the Bronze Age to the Hallstatt Age is illustrated by the numerous deposits of bronze and the culture referred to as the Noua culture (after the name of the town of Noua near Brasov, dating from the last centuries of the second millenium B.C. and the start of the first millenium). I cannot go into detail, but the fact should be stressed that we find the same apparent interruption throughout the Balkan region and we can thus affirm that in the ancient history of the peoples in the Bronze and Iron Ages in the Carpathian-Danubeian region an important archeological and probably also to a certain extent linguistic period was the definitive crystallization in the first centuries of the first millenium B.C. of the Geto-Dacian tribes and their civilization. This civilization culminated in the second Iron Age in the brilliant Dacian civilization, with impressive cities in the area of the Orastiei Mountains, in the center of Transylvania, to the east and south of the Carpathians, and, from the political point of view, with the creation, 2,050 years ago, of the first centralized and independent Dacian state, headed by Burebista.

With the Roman conquests, violent struggles took place between the Romans and the Illyrians in the Illyrian area during the third to second centuries B.C. and in the second to first centuries B.C. in the southern Balkans. There were also violent struggles in the first and second centuries A.D. to the north of the Danube and in the Carpathians. Although the harsh treatment applied by the Romans to the Illyrians and Thracians who resisted them is known, historical texts do not allow one to say -- and indeed no one has had the courage to so state -- that the Romans would have massacred the Illyrian and Thracian populations and that a population void would have been created in those areas. On the contrary, archeological discoveries show us a perfect continuity of traditions, of archeological forms, and even assimilation of the local population by the conquerors. In the case of the Dalmatians, a neo-Latin language, Dalmatian, was even developed and spoken up to the last century. A similar situation was also in effect in the case of the Dacians and then the Daco-Romans. Today we have abundant proof in this respect. Because the work of a later Roman writer, Eutropius, who wrote several centuries after the events in the age of Trajan and Decebal, carried a line stating: "Dacia viribus exhausta" -- a line which actually meant "Dacia was drained of men after such a long war" -- can it be claimed that the Dacians were all killed, that they disappeared, and that this military bastion created by Trajan was exclusively occupied by colonists brought "ex toto Romano"? Could the cohortes Dacorum recruited from the ranks of the Dacians in the second century A.D., and therefore after the conquest, cohorts attested to as being on the northern frontier of Britain, be anything other than proof that the indigenous population continued to exist and to become romanized? And all of the archeological documents of Geto-Dacian tradition which co-existed on a continuing basis throughout the second and third centuries A.D. together with all the pottery and all the objects of Roman make, what are they other than peremptory proof of this coexistence, which, in the final analysis, led to the establishment of a population which quite properly can be called Daco-Roman?

And finally, what do we find after the evacuation of Dacia by Aurelian in 271 A.D.? Texts are almost nonexistent, with writers in the late Roman and Byzantine ages retaining only the names of some of the chiefs and the tribes in migration with which the Roman Empire came into often hostile contact. However, hundreds of archeological documents attest to the continuity of the Daco-Roman population, especially the rural population, in the territory of the former province of Roman Dacia, as well as in the areas to the east and the south of the Carpathians. Who can remain indifferent to the fact that the language which the Romanian people speak is a neo-Latin language, which is included through its specific forms in the framework of eastern Roman origin? From this standpoint, one essential fact must not be forgotten: the transmission of certain toponyms of ancient Dacian origin (Oltul, Muresul, Prutul, Somesul, Siretul) through the intermediary of Latin versions up to our time. Even more, all the words of non-Latin origin, including the Slavic words, which have enriched the vocabulary of the Daco-Romans, were obliged to follow the morphological path of words of Latin origin, while the Romanian language in its entirety preserved the syntax of the original Latin. All of this can

only mean that the serious researcher with a sense of scientific responsibility must conclude that the Romanian language must have acquired all of those elements of structure, morphology and syntax which give it the right to be listed among the languages of neo-Latin origin before the arrival of the Slavic tribes on the territory of our nation (beginning with the end of the sixth century A.D. and in particular during the sixth to eighth centuries A.D.)

Looked at this way, these matters can not pose a question regarding the continuity of forms of ancient Romanian civilization and the Roman provincial tradition nor the continuity of traditions deriving from the techniques and decorative systems of pottery of the Dacians and of the Romans in all of the civilization to the north of the Danube and the Carpathians during the sixth to tenth centuries A.D. The space I have available does not permit me to go into detail and to cite all of the towns and cemeteries or all of the archaeological documents which support this continuity. However, I must mention the periods of the Christian religion -- all of Latin origin -- and also the many folklore and ethnographic elements which in their turn strengthen this conclusion. Actually, we are confronting that complex and long-lasting phenomenon which ended in the second half of the first millenium of our era -- the process of the ethnogenesis of the Romanian people and the process of the crystallization of the Romanian language as a neo-Latin language with ancient Dacian roots.

The French, Italian and Spanish peoples underwent a similar process, although obviously under other historical conditions. No one has questioned the continuity, the existence or the rights of these people to complete respect for their age and traditions. The respect which is due to all peoples, because each people has individually undergone a long evolution either on the territory in which they now reside or in other parts of the world, from whence, under specific conditions, they moved to the country where they now live. In this context, any attempt to deny the origin, age, quality of people of Daco-Roman origin and the neo-Latin language for Romanians only becomes obviously ridiculous and perhaps even more than that, absurd.

The ethnogenesis of the Romanian people is the result of a long, very long, historical evolution. The tribes and peoples entered into contact and here and other places they overlapped; some of them exercised at times tremendous influence on others; this led in an objective manner to the laying down and crystallization of specific forms of life and civilization. No one any longer has the right to speak of an "enigma and a historical miracle." No one can give anyone the right -- if they wish to be considered a scientist or purely and simply a man with good sense -- to deny this reality, a history of which we are proud and which pseudosavants wish to cancel or distort in such a way that they can place an equal sign between improbable hypotheses and unstated or, very often, openly stated desires.

We were and we will remain here. By virtue of a long history and a civilization which we have created through the centuries and millenia in which the ethnogenesis of the Romanian people and the formation of the first free

Romanian state took place through the permanent, unceasing and constant struggle of the people. The historic truth and serious scientific study of all the aspects involved in the long process of the ethnogenesis of the Romanian people give us the right to consider all these problems scientifically and to look at the history of our many millenia in its entirety, without fears which have anything to do with science.

6010

CSO: 2700

BAD EFFECTS OF 'MIGRATION' OF TEACHERS

Bucharest REVISTA DE PEDAGOGIE in Romanian Apr 78 pp 22-25

[Article by Emil Baldescu: "Teacher Turnover and its Effects on Education"]

[Text] Turnover of teaching personnel has the most far-reaching social and pedagogical effects, the many aspects of which require thorough studies and various solutions. We shall take up only a few of them in this study.

1. Migration is not a whim of those who practice it. It has nothing in common with wanderlust or love of travel, which are something else again. Migrating teachers waste their time, and so they must be helped to coordinate their personal interests with the general ones. They can be helped in three ways: (a) by integrating the young graduates in the communities to which they are assigned, (b) by placing them near the communities where they have families or transferring them to the cities and communes whence they came, and (c) by providing those who continue to travel to work with the best housing and transportation.

2. Most migrating teachers are women, some of whom are married and have children, namely 416 out of 682 in Olt County for example, and 858 out of 976 in Teleorman County (for the school year of 1976-1977), so that even greater care is required to limit and control migration. Failure to understand this has bad effects upon the material and cultural circumstances of migrating teachers. One general school principal in a mountain village forbade a young professor to go down to a city to take care of her children. There are still principals and other responsible persons in education who confine themselves to criticizing migrant teachers, generally blaming scholastic failures on migration without making every effort to alleviate the difficulties or to eliminate them.

3. Migration is closely related to urbanization, and for the time being it is in one main direction, from villages to cities. In the same school year the movement of teachers in Olt County was as follows: 282 to Slatina, 98 to Caracal, 70 to Corabia, 42 to Bals, 12 to Draganesti, 8 to Dragasani, 1 to Bucharest, 1 to Pitesti and 168 from one commune or village to another. A similar shift occurred in Teleorman County from communes and villages to cities: 186 to Alexandria, 186 to Rosiorii de Vede, 169 to Turnu Magurele, 40 to Videle, 3 to Zimnicia, 122 to Bucharest, and 270 to other rural communities.

For this very reason the Ministry of Education and Instruction did well to introduce the competition for employment of teachers in urban schools. Selective advancement of teachers from villages to cities is an example of knowledge and control of the turnover, but it has its drawbacks. Reception by urban schools, on a regular basis, of the best trained teachers and some of the best pupils leaves gaps in the corresponding rural schools. These losses can be recovered through continuing improvement of teaching personnel according to a uniform system and through restoration of rural sources of such personnel, which are partly provided for by the legislation on the 3 year apprenticeship. This accounts for the assignment in recent years of more college graduates to rural schools who have a good political and professional background for teaching.

4. As for rural teachers' living conditions, the local organs are making every effort to make the young recruits comfortable.

I have known any number of teaching personnel, both principals and professors, who were satisfied with their conditions. The reservations of some of the young ones are often unjustified and due to ignorance of the facts or to certain outmoded attitudes acquired from their elders. There are two steps that should be taken, namely providing the teaching corps with optimal working and living conditions (housing for school professors has been built in Sarmizegetusa Commune in Hunedoara County) and combatting attitudes that interfere with the normal and natural performance of the work.

5. Some teachers are attached to the communities in which they were born and raised and are working, and they are not tempted by advancement and transfer to other places. Neither in theory nor in practice do they accept views to the effect that "the family hearth is where you find it" or that "the location is losing its importance in life" or views concerning the "decreasing importance of the location."

Some of Alvin Toffler's opinions are contrary to fact. The time will come when there will also be migration from the cities to villages, but until then unwarranted migration must be discouraged. There are rural communities with extensive possibilities for living and working, yet some teachers prefer to move and face pointless hardships despite the efforts of the representatives of the local party and state organs. Some persons even try to evade the law. A couple of young professors in Teleorman County bought a dwelling in a certain community to which they wanted to be transferred, although they were living and working in another, so that they could then request a move home. Our ministry's regulations have precluded premeditated and unmerited transfers. Migration of teaching personnel is more inconvenient than that of other categories of intellectuals because it entails no compensation or recovery. School programs cannot be changed according to the train schedules and personal interests of migrating teachers.

6. Migration interferes with improvement of teaching personnel. Of the 976 migrating teachers in Teleorman County, 446 were probationers in the last school year out of the total of 1,350, and 473 of the total 2,599 had tenure, but 47 out of the total 811 were in Grade II, and only 10 out of the total 182 were in Grade I. The fact that almost all these teachers and professors

are probationers and holders of tenure can be explained on the ground that they are not entitled to take grade examinations until after a certain number of years. A similar situation obtains in Olt County, namely 369 with tenure out of the total 1,525, 105 in Grade II out of the total 966, and 3 in Grade I out of the total 82. We note that the percentage of migrating teachers with teaching grades in Teleorman County is below the general percentage, namely 4.8 percent in Grade II compared with 16 percent and 1 percent in Grade I compared with 3.6 percent. The ratio in Olt County is comparable, namely 10 percent in Grade II compared with 17 percent, and a special situation in Grade I of 3.6 percent compared with 1.5 percent.

This indicates the predominantly bad effect of migration upon improvement of teaching personnel. Though the teachers and professors in this category have greater opportunities for documentation in cities, where the bookstores and libraries are better supplied, fatigue and lack of time prevent full use of them. Although in some cases villages have fewer sources of information, in spite of this fact some teachers in village schools are better trained than others in urban schools, even with permanent residence. In Home No 3 in Slatina city not one out of nine teachers had a teaching grade 1 year ago, while there are many teachers in grades II and I in the village kindergartens. Professional training of teachers is affected by certain favorable or unfavorable factors, but it ultimately depends upon the individual and his consciousness, whether he works in a city or a village and whether he is settled or transient.

We find the same difference in the educational results obtained that we do in the instances of personnel improvement. Between two schools with the same staffing and the same degree of personnel improvement, as a rule the results are distinctly better in the school with professors who reside permanently in the respective community than they are in the school with largely transient professors. The comparison is indisputable.

Yet there are transient professors who show good results just as there are local ones whose results are not comparable.

And so migration is not a calamity for education. The complications are caused by those who fail to do their duty. The measures provided in the laws on education should be very strictly applied to the latter. Moreover Nicolae Ceausescu, our party secretary general, said at the National Conference of Chairmen of People's Councils of 29-31 March 1978 that compensation according to work also applies to teachers.

7. Migration of teachers is also fostered by the way the college graduates are assigned. The objective criterion of the marks made in college was adopted several years ago, but for this reason the graduates no longer go to the counties whence they came, to say nothing of their native communes and villages. In the last 3 years 236 graduates were assigned to Olt County, 62 of whom did not report and 63 of those who did are local. In the same period 25 graduates were released. Most (283) of the graduates assigned to Teleorman County in 1974-1976 were recruited from other counties and only 93 from Teleorman County. This explains the failure of 10 graduates to report, the terminations of 57, and the return of 32 of them to the county by changing the assignment that had fated them to live and work in other counties.

Assignment of graduates as far as possible to their home counties has unquestionable advantages, especially since some of them want to return to their native communities.

Sometimes young married couples are assigned to different communities, with the most serious consequences: The marriage is threatened with shipwreck and postponement of one of the most important periods in a man's life, sometimes beyond the tolerable age, and requests for terminations set in. We feel the specialized authorities should reconsider the method of assigning graduates, in the light of several criteria and in close correlation with college admissions. The former practice in Romania of sending students to higher education through contracts with enterprises should be resumed and expanded. Employment of a teacher or professor in his home county and also in his native commune itself has the most favorable effects, such as affection for the pupils, knowledge of the circumstances and people, and better living conditions. This would also simplify transfer operations, and the annual number of them requiring moves from one school to another would be reduced. In the long run it would make for stability of teaching personnel. This alternative is substantiated by several figures. The breakdown of transients in Olt County according to age in the last school year was 285 under 30, 344 between 31 and 50, and 53 over 50 years of age. The situation in Teleorman county was comparable: 638 under 30, 315 between 30 and 50, and 13 over 50 years of age.

Our party administration's recent directive to try to assign graduates and especially teachers to their home communities is particularly valuable to education, since it avoids transfers from one part of the country to another or from one part of a county to another.

8. The method of assigning graduates of pedagogic high schools and colleges takes no account of the structure of teaching personnel according to sex.

As we know all education and especially higher education is undergoing a process of feminization that is sometimes uncontrolled and undirected. Over 75 percent of all teachers are women. Development of women's role in education and all social activities is a specific result of our party's policy, with favorable effects upon the educational process. Maternal affection, sensitivity, appreciation of beauty, and a sense of management are more pronounced in the fair sex. But development of feminization without limitation and under any circumstances has bad effects upon education and upon the women themselves. There was a period in the history of our education when teachers were assigned according to sex. I mention this not as a model to be followed but to point out previous efforts in this direction. An instructor could not be appointed to an instructress' position or vice versa. Pedagogy has also indicated the need of an equitable ratio between men and women within teaching collectives. Disproportion between the sexes has both pedagogical and general social consequences. To be sure teachers may marry outside their profession. It is another aspect of social leveling. But in a rural community with an aging population young teachers encounter difficulties in this vital matter, accounting for the young teachers' onslaught upon the school inspectorates every autumn to get transfers. It is another phenomenon that both sociological and pedagogical research have unaccountably overlooked.

9. The relationship between instability of teaching personnel and establishment of teaching positions also requires consideration. Many professors want to be employed solely in a specialty, although interdisciplinary teaching is tending to change both the idea and the practice. But even if we admit it is ideal to work strictly in a specialty it is impossible because the number of hours does not permit it. Therefore the positions are established for several schools in the same city or commune or in neighboring communes. In this situation there are two alternatives: (1) hours in related specialties, in composite positions for a school or for schools at short distances, and (2) hours solely in a specialty within positions established for several schools, sometimes at greater distances. Some teachers prefer the first solution, either out of laziness or for sound reasons.

The interests of education and personnel improvement incline the balance toward the second solution.

Teachers and professors must accustom themselves to "geographic mobility," free themselves from the "tyranny of geography," and gradually adjust to "transience" instead of "permanence."

It goes without saying that the school cannot be brought home to every professor. The school does not follow the professor but the professor follows the school.

10. The teacher turnover has counterproductive effects upon the acculturation of the masses. The daily presence of professors with broad scientific backgrounds among the peasants in communes and villages brings an increment of culture to the communities where they go. But the hurry of some transients to leave the community right after the school program does not permit full use of the intellectual potential that the remotest settlements of Romania are entitled to enjoy. It is also the teachers' mission to help disseminate culture among the masses of workers.

These are only a few of the effects of the teacher turnover that await more intensive scientific investigation.

The ones indicated in the present study suggest some useful conclusions for the improvement of the educational process: (a) the need of thorough knowledge of migration, its causes and its effects upon teaching activity, (b) direction and control of this social-historical phenomenon for the benefit of society, the schools, the teachers and the pupils, (c) elimination of any prejudices and avoidance of administrative measures concerning instability of teachers, (d) the farthest possible limitation of it, and (e) provision for efficient and pleasant education regardless of the distance of the schools from the professors' homes.

Migration of teachers, and of other specialists as well, is a product of modern civilization. This objective phenomenon has not developed haphazardly in our socialist society but under the control of the state and in the clear directions of the party policy on proper distribution of the productive forces throughout Romania, designed to avoid "pilgrimages."

ROMANIA

DECREE ON INCREASING GUARANTEED INCOMES FOR FARMERS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 26, 30 Mar 78
pp 4-5

/Decree of the Council of State on Increasing Guaranteed Incomes
in Agricultural Cooperative Units/

/Text/ For the purpose of implementing, for the members of agricultural production cooperatives, the provisions in the Program for Increasing the Remuneration and Other Incomes, and the People's Standard of Living under the 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan,

The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania hereby decrees:

Article 1. The members of agricultural production cooperatives shall by the end of the 1976-1980 Five-year Plan receive a 24-28 percent increase in their guaranteed income.

The increase in the guaranteed income in agricultural cooperative units shall proceed in two stages as follows: stage I, from 1 February 1978, and stage II, in 1979-1980.

Article 2. In the first stage, the net guaranteed income shall be increased for cooperative farmers who work directly in the area of production, by 12.7-14.8 percent, and for those who hold positions in management and technical, economic, and administrative areas, and for cooperative members with skills of drivers, operators of road tractors, mechanics, electricians, and others, by 13.1-16.3 percent.

The gross levels of the guaranteed income, prescribed in Article 56 Paragraph 1 and in Appendix No 3 of Law No 27/1976 on Remuneration for Work in Agricultural Cooperative Units, shall become net levels of the guaranteed income.

The payment rates per unit of product, provided for in Appendix No 3 of Law No 27/1976, shall become net payment rates.

The net guaranteed income for cooperative members who hold positions in management and in technical, economic, and administrative areas, and for cooperative members with skills of drivers, operators of road tractors, mechanics, electricians, and others, shall be the one specified in the appendix to this decree, which replaces the provisions of Appendix No 4 to Law 27/1976.

Article 3. The agricultural production cooperatives and intercooperative economic associations with an agricultural streamline shall take steps to continuously reduce operating expenses and manual labor consumption and also to make best use of the production obtained, so that they may ensure the funds required for granting the guaranteed income at the level specified in this decree.

Nicolae Ceausescu
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 27 March 1978.
No 99.

Appendix

Guaranteed Income for Cooperative Members Who Hold Positions in Management and in Technical, Economic, and Administrative Areas and for Cooperative Members With Skills of Drivers, Operators of Road Tractors, Mechanics, Electricians and Others

		<u>Degree of Organization of Cooperative or Farm</u>		
		<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>
Chairman	Lei	2140	1970	1920
Head of farm with medium-grade or specialized technical training or no less than 5 production years	Lei	2070	1970	1920
Vice chairman not directly involved in production*	Lei	1620	-	-
Head of farm who has no medium-grade technical or specialized technical training	Lei	1620	1520	1420
Material-man	Lei	1520	1420	1315

* The vice chairman not directly involved in production may operate in agricultural production cooperatives which total more than 9,000 CPU (conventional production units) and whose radius of activity covers more than three villages.

The team leader shall receive a guaranteed income of 1315-1520 lei a month, differentiated in light of the size of the team he heads and the complexity of the production process, in accordance with the approval of the general assembly of the members of the agricultural production cooperative.

The cooperative members who hold the posts of chief accountant and accountant with duties at the level of the cooperative and farm accountant shall receive a monthly guaranteed income, in light of the duties performed and the level of training, in the amounts established in relation to the basic remuneration of the position of chairman, respectively head of farm with with medium-grade technical training or specialized training, provided for in Appendix No 2 to Law No 27/1976.

The cooperative members with skills and working in agricultural cooperative units as drivers, operators of road tractors, mechanics, electricians, and others shall receive a guaranteed monthly income of 1315 lei which shall be approved by the management council of the cooperative in light of the specific activity and the volume of work done.

11710
CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

DECREE ON SOCIAL SECURITY, PENSIONS COUNCIL

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 26, 30 Mar 78
p 5

/Decree of the Council of State on Establishing the Council for Social Security and Pensions/

/Text/ The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania hereby decrees:

Article 1. For the purpose of improving the activity of social security and pensions the Council for Social Security and Pensions, under the Ministry of Labor, is established.

Article 2. The Council for Social Security and Pensions has the following chief powers:

- a. Coordinates the activity of all social security and pensions organs and the unified application of the laws in this area;
- b. Analyzes the activity of social security and pensions conducted by the central organs which have these duties and establishes the measures required for upgrading this activity;
- c. Coordinates the activity of study and documentation on problems of social security and pensions; analyzes the studies made and puts forward proposals to the Ministry of Labor and other expert organs for the improvement of the activity of social security and pensions;
- d. Analyzes the proposals incorporated in the draft regulatory acts, formulated by the Ministry of Labor or other central bodies, which pertain to problems of social security and pensions;
- e. Analyzes the annual and long-range financial plans on social security and pensions;

f. Supervises the manner in which the expert organs monitor and control the activity of the territorial commissions for social security and pensions and of the commissions in units and in non-cooperativized communes;

g. Analyzes and submits proposals to the Ministry of Labor and other bodies in regard to the training and advancement of the work force involved in problems of social security and pensions;

h. Monitors the introduction and extension of modern technical means for the computation, data processing, and payment of pensions and the other social security entitlements;

i. Exercises other powers established by the Leadership Council of the Ministry of Labor.

Article 3. The Council for Social Security and Pensions is made up of:

a. A deputy minister of labor -- chairman;

b. The director general of the General Directorate for Social Security and Pensions in the Ministry of Labor -- vice chairman;

c. The heads of the social security and pensions offices; chairmen of some county pensions commissions, county commissions for medical examination and recovery of work capacity, commissions for pensions and social security in enterprises, agricultural production cooperatives, artisan cooperatives, and commissions for pensions and social security in communes located in noncooperativized areas; one representative from each of the following bodies: the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Tourism, the Legislative Council, the Committee for People's Councils' Affairs, the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions, the National Council of Women, the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth, the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives, the Central Union of Artisan Cooperatives, and the Central Directorate for Statistics; experts on problems of social security who are active in education, scientific research, and in other sectors -- members.

The nominal composition of the Council for Social Security and Pensions shall be established by the Leadership Council of the Ministry of Labor, with the agreement of the units which employ the persons involved.

Article 4. In exercising its powers, the Council for Social Security and Pensions may form groups of experts for the completion of specific surveys and analyses or programs for guidance and control, with the agreement of the units to which they belong.

Article 5. The proposals and measures outlined by the Council for Social Security and Pensions, within the framework of its powers in accordance with the law, shall be submitted to the Ministry of Labor or other state, cooperative or mass organs who are responsible for their implementation.

Article 6. The Council for Social Security and Pensions meets at least once quarterly, does business only when at least two-thirds of its membership are present and adopts resolutions when they receive the vote of a majority of its members.

Nicolae Ceausescu
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 27 March 1978.
No 100.

11710
CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

DECREE ON OPERATION OF SULINA DUTY FREE ZONE

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 26, 30 Mar 78
p 6

/Decree of the Council of State on Sulina Duty Free Zone/

The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania hereby decrees:

Article 1. The Sulina duty free zone, having the location and area specified in Appendix No 1* to this decree, is created.

Article 2. The transportation facilities and the assets which are brought into or taken out of the Sulina Duty Free Zone shall be exempted from payment of customs and fiscal duties and taxes.

Moreover, during their stay in the Sulina Duty Free Zone, the transportation facilities, assets, and persons shall be exempted from meeting the other customs and fiscal regulations.

Article 3. The area of access to the Sulina Duty Free Zone is under the supervision of customs organs.

Article 4. Admitted to the Sulina Duty Free Zone are the transportation facilities and assets from all the countries with which the Socialist Republic of Romania has trade relations, regardless of the flags of the ships, the country of origin and the country of destination of the assets.

Exceptions involve the assets whose importation to the territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania is prohibited in accordance with the law or international conventions to which the Socialist Republic of Romania is a signatory.

Article 5. The assets of Romanian origin or those from imports may be brought into the Sulina Duty Free Zone after meeting the conditions and formalities regarding export or, as the case may be, temporary export. Their reintroduction into the customs territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania shall proceed under the legal conditions.

* The appendix shall be forwarded to the parties concerned.

Article 6. The assets which are brought into, are in or are taken out of the Sulina Duty Free Zone shall be subjected to the sanitary, phytosanitary, or sanitary-veterinary regulations, as the case may be.

Article 7. Procedures of handling, storage, sorting, conditioning, packaging, processing, marking, display, testing, selling-purchasing, and other procedures characteristic of duty free zones may be conducted in the Sulina Duty Free Zone.

Article 8. In the Sulina Duty Free Zone, the Administration of the Sulina Duty Free Zone shall provide services and supplies of materials and consumer goods, and other facilities characteristic of duty free zones.

Article 9. The assets brought into the Sulina Duty Free Zone may be shipped to another country or transited on the territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania, with the observance of the regulations on transiting.

These assets may also be brought into the customs territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania, with the observance of the regulations on imports.

Article 10. The development of the activity in the Sulina Duty Free Zone, the access of the persons, and the rates for services shall be established under the rules of procedure approved by the Council of Ministers, at the proposal of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, with the approval of the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Finance.

Article 11. For the administration of the Sulina Duty Free Zone, on 1 April 1978, the Administration of the Sulina Duty Free Zone is established, as a specialized foreign trade enterprise, with headquarters in Sulina Town, Tulcea County, under the Ministry of Trade and International Economic Cooperation.

The Administration of the Sulina Duty Free Zone shall operate on the principle of self-management, as a legal entity.

Article 12. The Administration of the Sulina Duty Free Zone is responsible for the application and observance of the provisions of this decree in the Sulina Duty Free Zone. To this end, the Administration of the Sulina Duty Free Zone may request the support of the customs organs or other organs, as the case may be.

Article 13. The Administration of the Sulina Duty Free Zone shall provide port services, international commodity shipping and other services characteristic of duty free zones.

Article 14. The Administration of the Sulina Duty Free Zone shall have the organizational structure provided for in Appendix No 2* to this decree and shall be classified in grade I of organization.

Article 15. The personnel employed by the Administration of the Sulina Duty Free Zone, who perform duties similar to those of personnel in other sectors or activity entitled to wear service uniforms or standard equipment shall have the same entitlements.

The safety equipment and the work equipment shall be granted to the personnel employed by the Administration of the Sulina Duty Free Zone, in accordance with the law.

Article 16. The personnel employed by the Administration of the Sulina Duty Free Zone is entitled to keep for 5 years, beginning on the opening of the Sulina Duty Free Zone, the residence they had on the date of the hiring.

Article 17. The Administration of the Sulina Duty Free Zone may use up to 50 percent of the foreign currency incomes obtained annually above the plan, during the first 5 years of operation, for the improvement of the facilities and equipment in this zone. The funds which were not used in one year shall be carried over to the next year. The list of facilities and equipment financed in this manner shall be annually approved by the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, with the approval of the Ministry of Finance.

The facilities belonging to and those required for the activity of the Romanian units in the Sulina Duty Free Zone shall meet the regulations for assets designed for domestic activity.

Article 18. The agency service and the supply of foreign ships and crews shall be ensured by the Administration of the Sulina Duty Free Zone.

The Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation shall establish the list of goods admitted to be sold in retail with payment in foreign currency in the Sulina Duty Free Zone.

Article 19. The number of posts and the remuneration fund needed by the Administration of the Sulina Duty Free Zone for 1978 shall be ensured within the framework of the work and payment plan approved by the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation.

Nicolae Ceausescu
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 27 March 1978
No 101.

YUGOSLAVIA

SLOVENIAN LC PRESIDENCY MEMBERS NAMED, DUTIES LISTED

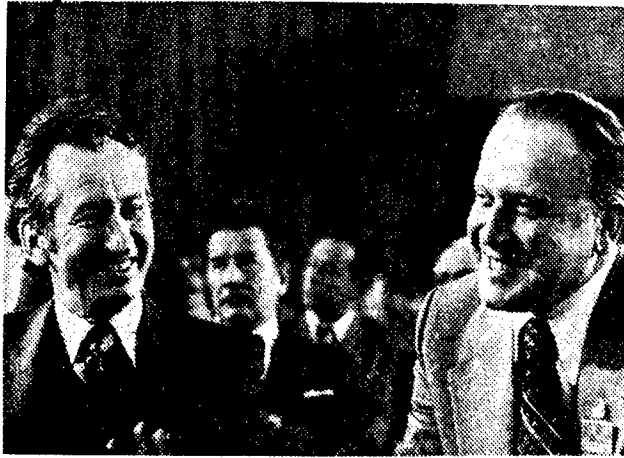
Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 6 Apr 78 p 1

[Text] Forming of the New Presidency of the Central Committee of LC of Slovenia.

Ljubljana, 5 April 1978--At the first session of the new 70-member Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia chaired by Marjan Brecelj, its oldest member, Franc Popit was reelected president of the Central Committee of LCS. Also elected at the same time was the new 17 member presidency which, under the leadership of Franc Popit, immediately met and appointed Franc Setinc its secretary, as well as eight other executive secretaries of the CC LCS presidency.

Appointed executive secretaries were: Ljubo Jasnic (in charge of the general people's defense and social self-protection), Bojan Klemencic (organization and development of LC), Martin Mlinar (socioeconomic system), Roman Ogrin (LC personnel matters), Emil Rojc (education and cultural affairs), Peter Tos (political system), and Ivanka Vrhovcak (sociopolitical organizations).

Also appointed were chairman of the CC LCS presidency's committees: France Popit--[committee on] general people's defense and social self-protection; Lojze Briski--organization, development, and personnel policy of LC; Boris Majer--ideological work, science, culture, education and training; Franc Setinc--propaganda and information; Igor Ursic--socioeconomic and political system; Majda Gaspari--LC concerns with respect to our workers abroad; Lidiya Sentjurc--study of LC history; Ronald Strelec--international economic and political affairs.



1. p 1. Responsible Assignments--At the eighth congress of LCS France Popit was reelected president of the Central Committee. At the first session of the CC LCS presidency Franc Setinc was appointed secretary of this 17 member political executive body.



2. p 1. The New Presidency of CC LCS (Front, from left to right): Vinko Hafner, Majda Gaspari, Sergej Kraigher, Danica Mercnik of Maribor, the youngest member of CC, Mitja Ribicic, Milan Kucan; (second row): Viktor Avbelj, Milos Prosenc, Janez Vipotnik, Zvone Dragan, Franc Setinc, Marjan Orozen, France Popit, Andrej Verbic, Igor Ursic, Roman Albreht, Boris Majer, Anton Vratusa, and Lojze Briski.

YUGOSLAVIA

DOLANC INTERVIEWED BY YOUTH WEEKLY PAPER

Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0816 GMT 23 May 78 LD

[Interview with Stane Dolanc by MLADOST in Connection with Yugoslav Youth Day--Tanjug Headline]

[Excerpts] Belgrade--[Passage indistinct] These are the ideals which today attract the overwhelming majority of young people everywhere. This is why Tito is close to them, because the objective for which he fights is close to them. For this reason, they all consider Tito to belong to them. And we are proud because Tito has become a personality who does not belong to us alone, but to the entire progressive world, and because he has risen to be among the greatest personalities of our time.

Tito always looked for and found support for his ideas in the working class and among young people. For him the working class and the working people always were and have remained the principal creative force of the revolution and socialism and touchstone of all values.

In the 20S, when Tito started his trade union and party career, he relied primarily of young people. Young people constituted the majority of partisans in the rising of 1941.

Asked about the readiness and the ability of the young generation today to grapple with increasingly big tasks in the development of self-management, Dolanc stressed:

Our young generation is as old as our socialist self-management. It is developed with it and takes part in its development. Of course there is no participation, at least no real participation, unless it is shown to be practicable, through substantive results.

However, we must not delud ourselves. The contribution made by the young people can and must be greater because it is not sufficiently commensurate with the actual potential inherent in our young generation. This must be expressed particularly in all the forms of social work and not only in

those related to direct production, and this means in education, culture, science and also in the overall political involvement. A more conspicuous activity in the delegate system, in self-management interest communities and in the socialist alliance is required... [TANJUG Ellipsis]

Another thing has to be borne in mind. It is exceptionally important but it certainly is not enough to judge the contribution of the young people, for instance, only on the basis of the participation of young people in labor drives, by their school success or lack of it, by the fulfillment of the norms in the work process, and by virtues of their sport or other activity. These are the quintessential forms of activity of enormous social, ideological, political and economic significance. However, to remain at that, and to consider and present this alone as proof of involvement is not at all good. The consequence of this approach is also the fact that it is forgotten that youth means equal opportunity to prove ones worth in work in a work organization or in some other environment and also in the League of Communists, in the Socialist Alliance, in the delegate system and in self-management bodies. These are not the activities that can be separated from each other. The overall social action, primarily that by the League of Communists, by the Federation of Socialist Youth and by the Socialist Alliance, must create the conditions to overcome such a situation. This is particularly important. For instance in this respect Kardelj has provided a well-argued analysis of the field of education embracing several hundred thousand young people with restricted opportunities, in the main purely formal, for the implementation of their self-management rights. In these conditions young people are not protagonists of social responsibility which is a precondition for a greater action presence of the young generation, of course, not only in the educational system, either.

To the question: How would you comment on our impression that the contribution young people are making to the construction of our society, in the most diverse aspects of social involvement, is nevertheless greater than the appropriate social "answers" to some of the significant questions of the economic and social opinion of young people? What are the prospects of the problem of employment in the foreseeable future not being so conspicuous as it is today? Dolanc replied:

Our experience in the construction of socialist self-management proves that the continuity of the revolution and the consistency of its implementation are its essential ingredient. Young people also build and continue what the previous generation has achieved with arms and what it is doing in the post-war revolutionary creative endeavor. There is no doubt that our young people would continue to pursue this path.

Our future will match the way we are today conquering things new and the way we will continue to develop socialist self-management. The foundations of the future, which is the continuation of all these things, are exceptionally safe and firm.

The problems of young people are also the problems of this society. They will be dealt with in this way. And more often than not they are an expression of specific objective difficulties and economic nondevelopment.

There are, of course, subjective shortcomings as well. They must be discussed openly and resolute efforts must be made to eliminate them efficiently. There is no answer to these. The problem of unemployment is an exceptionally complex subject matter about which many things can be said. It is important always to take into account objective, mainly economic, employment possibilities which confront us. The rate of increasing the number of unemployed people is higher than the planned one, but the problem persists. Among other things, more vacancies could be insured, but for irrational investments, nor should one forget unused capacities, irrational business operations and overtime and part-time work. To all practical purpose we have unfortunately not been able yet fully to implement the mechanism with which to overcome these illogicalities. There are many objective reasons for it, but these are not the only reasons. The irrational educational system, separated from associated labor, makes many problems even greater. We educate personnel whom we do not require and we lack the staff for whom our economy is crying.

Moreover, in so far as the number of unemployed is concerned, I have great reservations about the statistical data produced every day, Dolanc stressed. I think that these data do not provide a correct picture of unemployment. For instance, there are a great number of young people who have registered as unemployed but have refused the job offered to them. We also have a not insignificant number of young specialists who are waiting to be employed in big town center, while many small localities and work organizations in the provinces are crying out for them. Sometimes even housewives are shown as being unemployed.

It means that one has to have an analysis and the picture of the real situation in order to conduct a successful action to resolve this major problem. I know that there are inconsistencies also in the implementation of legal commitments whereby many young people are kept jobless. One only has to mention apprentices and the jobs filled by those who should leave them. There are also stage-managed appointments boards and also corruption to get a job. This in particular creates dissatisfaction and irritates young people.

Dolanc also spoke of the affirmation of the young people:

The League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which next year is marking the 60th anniversary of its formation, is one of the youngest political organizations in the world. The average age of its membership is about 34 years. Young people constitute one quarter of the League of Communist membership. This is a convincing proof of our young generations orientation to the ideas and ideals for which the League of Communists is fighting. These ideas and objectives also link all the generations and make them united in the struggle for socialism and self-management. This is why I have always been against the

division into the old and the young, because the youth of a revolutionary has never been determined by his years but by his readiness, responsibility and revolutionary enthusiasm with which one enters the struggle for the implementation of the ideals of the working class.

I know that a conservative attitude of mind is no doubt one of the biggest obstacles to young people showing their mettle. The consequences of this attitude are the distrust of young people and their abilities and inertia of pragmatic and routine activity. But this is not the case with the young people alone. This attitude stifles every progressive idea and action. Where there is no self-management, the critical views of both old and young are stifled. In such environments words of criticism are suppressed by arguments of force and are eliminated where they are most necessary. Of course, this is reflected also in the involvement by young people.

Having stressed that unity and the strength shown by the League of Communists as a vanguard of the revolution and self-management from which everything else--all successes and achievements--had flown and had been considered to be the basic achievements during the past period, Dolanc spoke of the forthcoming 11th LCY Congress of the Federation of Socialist Youth.

In making a positive assessment of its work, Dolanc said that the 4 year practice in the work of this organization had demonstrated all the justification and the indispensable nature of organization of our young people in a single organization which did not admit professional or some other internal divisions. Many activities--let us mention only labor drives, which had virtually died away--have again gathered together broad circles of our young people. The existence of this organization is felt in our social life.

However, dealing precisely with the Federation of Socialist Youth as an ideological and action inspirer and educator of the young generation, one has to say that many greater opportunities have been opened.

It is particularly important that the Federation of Socialist Youth [SSO] itself should devise forms and methods of work because it is a specific organization in whose work its character as a front organization must come fully to the fore. It is precisely here that short circuits occur. It is only through really specific forms of, say, Marxist education which must be adapted to the age and maturity of the young people that this objective can be more fully realized. Youth organization cannot be given political subjectivity, social importance and influence as a gift. The organization itself must fight and win the fight against the neglect of its important social function, of social commitments and responsibilities which it carries. There is a proviso concerning this because this will not be attained unless the SSO acts within the subjective forces, especially in the Socialist Alliance.

The SSO must know how to operate in these conditions, how to gather together the young generation--not only those sectors covered by SSO membership, but

the broadest front of young people--and to guide their action, especially to say how its members who are also members of the League of Communists should operate in the SSO. There are many unnecessary difficulties here which stem precisely from the inadequate forms of work which are out of keeping with the organization such as the youth organization. It should train the young people for subjective activity in the delegate system and in the Socialist Alliance, but not through forms and methods which produce opposite effects. And such things do happen! For instance, neglect of the struggle for Marxist knowledge and in particular the neglect of individual inclinations toward Marxist training which in a certain sense are stifled by the unimaginative, stereotyped and dogmaticized forms of education.

The last question was: what could you tell us about what we have achieved in the self-management transformation of sport and physical culture?

The latter [no further identification; presumably the reference is to the joint letter by Tito and by the Executive Bureau of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee] congress decisions and some documents referring directly to sport and physical culture have encouraged positive processes in the self-management transformation in this important area of our social life. I can say that in this area. In the period between the two congresses, valuable results have been obtained. However, we cannot be satisfied with them. There are still vestiges of techno-managerial relations and other manifestations and conduct such as contradictions with the basic norms of our self-management socialist society. This refers primarily to sport at the highest level where the strongest resistance is felt to the establishment of new relations. Many dilemmas and unresolved problems have remained, ranging from the way to interpret professionalism and apply it in practice, to a number of other questions to which answers must be given. Therefore, it is the task of sportsmen, socio-sports workers and especially of the communist and sports organizations--proceeding from the stands and the policy of the LCY and of the society--to make their full contribution to the development of sport and physical culture, in keeping with the general development and the objectives to which our self-management society aspires. In view of the fact that sports collectives are in most cases made up of young people, the greatest responsibility and tasks devolve on the devolve on the Federation of Socialist Youth.

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

MEDIA CONSIDERED IMPORTANT WHEN SECURITY'S INVOLVED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 13 May 78 pp 26, 27 AU

[Interview by Djordje Licina with Martin Kosir, undersecretary in the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, on the occasion of 13 May, Security Service Day; no place or precise date given]

[Excerpts] [Question] The activity of the intelligence services is based on certain concepts. It could be said this activity has its own doctrine and concrete plans. What basic characteristics of this activity toward our country would you say merit attention?

[Answer] During the past few decades, broadly expanded intelligence services have developed from the bloc division of the world, services which, under the conditions of the policy of force and pressure, are one of the main instruments for implementing the cold war goals of the forces confronted on an international scale.

The use of force and pressure is also now present in international relations. The intelligence services perform their function in accordance with the foreign political goals of the countries, or rather the blocs to which they belong. In accordance with these aims, they elaborate the concepts of their strivings and activity.

In the postwar years, the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia have acquired rich and valuable experiences by coming into conflict with those forces that operate behind the scenes, demonstrating their unwavering determination to preserve the country's independence and territorial integrity regardless of the strength and power of those forces in the world that would oppose these aspirations.

Despite the fact that we have a stable internal political situation, that we have strongly consolidated our international position, and that it has become clear to all that SFRY territorial integrity and free socialist development cannot be threatened by the means and methods of behind-the-scene practice, our country continues to face, directly or indirectly, various forms of subversive activity by intelligence services. The essence and the background of this activity are well known.

Only a Politically Stable Society Can Oppose Alien Influences

[Question] What in Yugoslavia are the foreign intelligence services interested in?

[Answer] The intelligence services have become a specific type of institution originating under very contradictory conditions. They try to be informed of all happenings vital to the existence of a society, and not only this, they try by various forms of involvement, directly or indirectly, to influence the directions and trends of a society, to cause various problems, to cast doubt on its basic values, and so forth.

Research in our social, political and social [?economic] life, and in the all-people's defense, dominates their activity toward Yugoslavia. Data is collected with the application of intelligence means and methods and also in other ways, for instance by following the overall information-publicistic production and the like. Great attention is regularly paid to current sociopolitical developments in the country, as well as to Yugoslavia's international activity. They also monitor and research cadre policy, primarily cadre changes and the like. All this helps them in various evaluations and in foreseeing Yugoslavia's future orientation in internal and foreign policy. Having once grasped the real state of affairs in the country, those who are well-meaning and realistic objectively assess Yugoslavia's lasting stability on Tito's course--on the course of the League of Communists--but there is not a small number of those who tendentiously, and sometimes from extremely reactionary positions, distort the picture of our country and make some sort of speculations concerning its further development.

[Question] You have said that research dominates the activity of intelligence services toward our country. Do they remain only on this level or do they go further, that is, do they try also to exert influence and do they have any success in this?

[Answer] On the whole, our society has achieved a very high level of immunity against any influence from outside. This immunity had been created in all stages of our struggle in which we had won our own identity, that is, a free community of free and equal people. This is one of the basic characteristics of our society, and for this reason we do not act differently when our relations with the rest of the world are involved. Our self-managing socialist community, as a whole, is free and is freely linking itself with all communities in the world.

Naturally, the efforts to exert influence on the conscience, orientation, and behavior of our working people and citizens are not small. One can even speak about developed and combined methods and means being used in this connection. The struggle against these influences should not be neglected, and more historic confirmations are needed that these influences have always been destroyed by the unity of our peoples and nationalities.

Naturally, there are also people who succumb to these influences. This is, however, an insignificant number of individuals of various hostile orientations and, naturally, the hostile oriented emigrees. These are the circles that are subject to direct or concealed-tacit influences of not only the intelligence services, but also further afield.

Extremist Emigration Has Been and Has Remained a Means of Pressure by Reactionary Circles on Our Country

[Question] Extremist emigration, which has always tried to portray itself as an independent political factor, was at a time under the complete domination of intelligence services. What is the situation now, and how do you assess its role in the overall hostile activity against Yugoslavia?

[Answer] The circumstances that preceded and in which the founding of extremist emigre organizations, including persons coming from Yugoslavia, took place are well known.

Under the conditions of cold war tension, these organizations were considerably strengthened in the organizational and material respects, and this had a stimulating effect on their members to carry out the most gross forms of hostility against our country. The individuals and groups are also linking themselves with the organizers of international terrorism.

[Question] To what extent can one speak about a safe stay by our citizens temporarily working abroad? What has been undertaken so that they can feel as safe as possible during their stay and work abroad?

[Answer] Regarding their protection, it can be said that great progress had been made in this respect in recent years. They are no longer exposed to such gross attacks as was the case in previous years. However, these attacks have not yet completely ceased. It is well known that Yugoslavia extends full protection to every foreign citizen, regardless of the basis on which he legally resides here, and we expect, with full right, such an attitude towards our citizens in other countries.

How Are Citizens Fighting Against Intelligence Services

[Question] The country's security and defense are the concern of all citizens, the sociopolitical and other organizations of our community. How does the struggle against the enemy, particularly against the intelligence services, fit into the concept of social self-protection and all-people's defense, and how can citizens help in this struggle?

[Answer] In our sociopolitical system, the country's security and defense are an inseparable and component part of self-management and the whole society. This means that the working people, the sociopolitical organizations, self-managing and other institutions are not engaged solely in implementing the direct security and defense tasks, but are also obligated, and also have the right, to directly develop and perfect the system of social self-protection and all-people's defense on the foundations of socialist self-management.

Accordingly, social self-protection and the all-people's defense are the concern of the entire society, of all its factors, the right and duty of every citizen. They must completely master these functions, because only thus will it be possible to permanently and completely realize the important tasks of the country's protection and defense.

[Question] What role in this do you see for the press and other public information media?

[Answer] The public information media, particularly the press, radio and television play a very significant role in implementing the security and the defense tasks. In view of the fact that journalists are always informed about events on this subject, they usually regularly report first, give their judgment and assessments. Their role is even more significant and responsible where developments important for security are involved. In such cases it is vital to find the right measures, and to initiate socially the most appropriate and the most effective solutions.

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

MARIBOR BISHOP DRZECNIK DIES--Maribor, 14 May (Tanjug)--Yesterday, Dr Maksimiljan Drzecnik, Bishop of Maribor, died at the age of 75 after a long and severe illness. The late bishop was always in favor of good relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the self-managed socialist society. Mitja Ribicic, President of the Republic Conference of the SAWP of Slovenia, sent a telegram of condolences concerning the death of Dr Drzecnik. Stane Kolman, President of the Republic Commission for Relations With Religious Communities, also expressed his sympathy. [Text] [Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 15 May 78 p 2]

MURA AREA SOCIOPOLITICAL CONFERENCE--A meeting held on 19 May at Moravske Toplice for secretaries of basic organizations of the LC, members of inter-obcina councils of the LC, and other sociopolitical workers was addressed by Milan Kucan, President of the Slovenian Assembly. The meeting was also addressed by Geza Bacic, Secretary of the Inter-Opcina Council of the Slovenian LC, and Bojan Klemencic, Executive Secretary of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the Slovenian LC. [Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 20 May 78 p 2]

IRAQI AMBASSADOR IN SLOVENIA--On 16 May, Hussain Hayawi Al-Hammash, Ambassador of Iraq to the SFRY, made an initial protocol visit to Slovenia. During the course of the visit, he was received individually by Milan Kucan, President of the Slovenian Assembly, Anton Vratusa, President of the Slovenian Executive Council, Marjan Breclj, member of the Slovenian Presidency, and Anka Tomisek, Vice-President of the Ljubljana Municipal Council. [Text] [Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 17 May 78 p 2]

ANGOLAN AMBASSADOR IN SLOVENIA--On 16 May, Joao Filipe Martins, Ambassador of the Peoples Republic of Angola to the SFRY, was in Slovenia making his initial protocol visits. He was received by Milan Kucan, President of the Slovenian Assembly, Vida Tomsic, member of the Slovenian Presidency, Zvone Dragan, Vice-President of the Slovenian Executive Council, and Marjan Rozic, President of the Ljubljana Municipal Assembly. Martins will also visit the International Center for Managing State-Owned Enterprises in Developing Countries. [Text] [Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 17 May 78 p 2]

OSTOJIC VISITS SLOVENIA--On 16 May, before leaving for his new post, Mirko Ostojic, newly-designated Ambassador of the SFRY to the PRC, visited Slovenia. He was received individually by Marjan Osolnik, Republic Secretary for International Cooperation, Jernej Jan, President of the Republic Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, and Edo Brajnik, Vice-President of the Commission for International Economic and Political Questions of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the Slovenian LC. He also visited the Economic Chamber of Slovenia, the Ljubljana Bank, and the Center for the Study of Cooperation with Developing countries. [Text] [Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 17 May 78 p 2]

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